

# THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

The Monitor's view

## Brezhnev's Constitution

In most countries the promulgation of a new constitution would be an historic event. But the draft Constitution just published in the Soviet Union shows the world how little has changed since 1936, the year Joseph Stalin published the present Constitution. In essence, it reconfirms that the document is not a platform of genuine democratic rights but one of the tools by means of which the Communist Party and the state exercise full sovereignty over the individual citizen.

It is meaningless of course to compare the Soviet Constitution to the constitution of any Western democracy. The two are founded on totally different concepts of the relationship of state to individual. But, insofar as the Soviet Constitution reflects thinking in the Kremlin, any change of substance in it is a useful guide to understanding official Soviet behavior.

One such politically significant change is the creation of a new post of first deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, or in effect a "first vice-president." It will enable Leonid Brezhnev to assume Nikolai Podgorniy's job as President or nominal chief of state, leaving the ceremonial functions to the deputy. This would give Mr. Brezhnev little added power, since as party leader he already is the "first among equals." But in future when he or his successor travels abroad he could then be accorded all the ceremonial honors of a head of government.

For Soviet citizens there are a few gestures. They will have a bit more protection in cases of common crime. Their "economic" rights also are spelled out in more detail — the right to housing, education, leisure, medical care, work and so on. Russians have come to regard such state-provided services as their due.

In the sensitive area of political rights, however, there can be little cheer for that small band of intrepid dissidents fighting for greater freedom. The draft Constitution reaffirms the

freedoms of speech, press, assembly, religion, privacy, demonstration, but declares these are granted only "in conformity with the interests of the working people and for the purpose of strengthening the socialist system." Most ominously, it adds that the exercise of these rights "shall be inseparable from the performance by citizens of their duties" and citizens shall respect the "rules of socialist behavior." Since these "duties" include observance of laws that make it a crime, for instance, to slander the Soviet state, the individual citizen is virtually caught between the anvil and the hammer.

And if there is any lingering doubt that the Communists intend to perpetuate their control, a provision in the new Constitution ratifies the role of the party. It states unequivocally that the party is the leading power of Soviet society and dominates all state and public organizations. To declare in the same breath that "all power in the U.S.S.R. is vested in the people" is a mockery of the term democracy.

This is nothing new of course. Throughout its history the Soviet Union has violated even the creditable principles enunciated in its Constitution. The men in the Kremlin seek to legitimize their rule by all the trappings of Western-style democracy. But such high-sounding words as "rights" and "freedoms" bear little relationship to those practiced in the West. They are merely manipulated for the purposes of power.

Now Mr. Brezhnev and his colleagues will look to the new Constitution to bolster their case at the follow-up meeting to the 1975 Helsinki conference that takes place this year. The draft echoes some of the language of the Helsinki "final act." It can also be used to justify the current Soviet repression of dissidents not as "human rights advocates" but as traitors and lawbreakers.

Few will be taken in by this constitutional sophistry.

Together



The Christian Science Monitor

## Britain celebrates

Queen Elizabeth's silver jubilee last week was not all frosting and stylized pageantry. True, there were fireworks and bonfires, pomp and ceremony. Appropriately, there were tributes and jubilation as a grateful British nation honored its monarch after 25 years on the throne.

But there is much more to it than that. The very occasion provides a much-needed lift for British morale after a long period of stress. This jubilee acts, too, as a unifying factor, reminding Britons of their heritage from the years of empire and greatness — and their desire to live up to their highest hopes in today's troubled world as well, a desire still to be fulfilled.

In a sense, the jubilee is for Britain what last year's bicentennial was for the United States. For Americans, their 200th anniversary was a time for turning away from scandals and political turmoil, for looking ahead to what a new century was holding, for looking back to historic roots for inspiration. For Britons as well,

this is a moment to take stock, catch the breath, rejoice a bit, cast off the weariness of economic problems, uplift, and be uplifted.

Fortunately, they are blessed with a sovereign of stature around whom to rally. The Queen has been through a full generation of changes and challenges herself. She and the royal family have had to adapt to the nation's shifting role — and accept a few critical caustic calls to the bargain. Yet, in the process, Queen Elizabeth has always exemplified that constancy and continuity Britain so desperately needs to see it through this troubled era. She has done it, moreover, not as a hollow symbol on a throne but by epitomizing dignity, taste, dedication, and awareness in her own daily life.

By all this, and more, Elizabeth II has demonstrated worthiness and usefulness as Queen. Britons today can honor her best by rededicating themselves to those very time-tested fundamentals for which she so firmly stands.

## Saving Kenya's elephants

Kenya has done the right thing in putting an immediate ban on all big-game hunting in its portion of East Africa. There may be some lamenting in the game lodges for the legendary white hunters of Nairobi, who in the past have guided those determined to have their own elephant hunt, lion's skin, or other trophies. There also may be some unemployment and financial loss to game safari operators.

But the fact is that supplies of big game are dwindling, and that the lion must be drawn somewhere. Kenya is one of the last places where the animals still roam, so it is setting a good example in limiting animal shots to pho-

tographers. Neighboring Tanzania and Uganda already have instituted similar bans on big-game hunting, although in all three nations the problem has been inability to enforce adequately the existing hunting regulations.

Unfortunately, licensed big-game hunters are by no means the only threat to Africa's animals. Of equal or greater danger are the growing number of illegal poachers, who slaughter game indiscriminately and often cruelly, for ivory, tusks, and trophies, making huge profits for their risks. Kenya has its share of poachers, and to save its animal wealth the government will have to find better ways to crack down on their depredations. In-

## Turkey in transition

Turkey's general election is of enormous importance both for the country's internal development and for what it portends for relations with the West. The victory of former Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit, a man to the left of center, seems to reflect the Turkish people's frustrations over severe economic distress as well as disillusionment with the treatment accorded Turkey by its NATO allies, especially the United States.

If Mr. Ecevit succeeds in forming a coalition government (he fell short of capturing a majority vote), he will confront awesome domestic and foreign policy problems. But, as he showed when he ordered the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974 (after a Greek junta-ordered coup), he is a tough, forthright and courageous leader. As such, he could well give Turkey the kind of strong leadership it needs to pull itself together after a long period of fragile government and growing political and economic unrest.

Because Mr. Ecevit is ideologically to the left of the present Prime Minister, Suleyman Demirel, the United States presumably is not too happy about the outcome. But Mr. Ecevit, who was educated in the West, has already indicated that Turkey would continue to participate in NATO, that he would exert every effort to restore good ties with Washington, and would also seek to resolve Turkey's bitter disputes with Greece. Certainly it can be argued that, having played such a dominant role in securing Turkish-Cypriot rights in Cyprus, he would be in a better position to make the political compromises necessary to resolve the Cyprus problem.

From Ankara's point of view, the blame for Turkey's strained ties with NATO rests with the United States. The Turks argue, and not without justification, that Congress continues to restrict American arms sales to Turkey and thereby weakens NATO's southern defense posture simply because of the pressures of a vocal but small Greek minority in the United States. Clearly this is a time of transition — and

testing — for Turkey, and it will also be a time for fresh thought in Washington. The strategic importance of Turkey as the easternmost link of the Atlantic Alliance and as a buffer between the Soviet Union and the Middle East is obvious. It should be equally obvious that United States policy of recent years has been forcing Turkey to turn to other options, one of which is closer economic ties with Moscow.

Much is therefore at stake in this part of the world and the Carter administration ought to look anew at U.S. policy and ask whether a more evenhanded approach is not in order. At the moment Turkey has a half million men under arms and yet is unable to receive the military equipment needed to provide an effective defense.

This is not to forget the problem of Cyprus, which the Greek lobby has pressed before Congress. Obviously movement on this sensitive issue is also needed and here, Mr. Ecevit himself could be helpful. There is little doubt that U.S. lawmakers would be more receptive to the lifting the arms embargo on Turkey if the Turks could be seen making some conciliatory gesture with respect to the occupied island. Thus, Mr. Ecevit could make clear what he has in mind regarding an overall settlement, for instance. Or he could set the stage by withdrawing some more Turkish troops from Cyprus.

However, the first order of business for the victorious leader of the Republican Party is to put a government together. The whole interrelated web of foreign policy problems will have to be tackled in tandem — a task which may be best served by quiet diplomacy first between Turkey and Greece.

But, if this is not yet the time for U.S. action, it is a time for quiet reflection and reassessment.

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# THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

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## The Carter optimists

Henry Kissinger, seeking détente, sometimes cited Spengler's pessimistic 'Decline of the West.' Now a new school of policy planners believes — rightly or wrongly — that the East-West race favors U.S.

Carter policy team: (clockwise from President) Vance, Brzezinski, and Turner

By Daniel Southerland  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Almost unnoticed, a profound revolution has taken place in the way the men who run the United States view Washington's race with Moscow.

Their aim is still détente. The Kissinger-Nixon-Ford policies toward the Soviet bloc and the Peking counterbalance to that bloc are still followed in rough outline.

But the new atmosphere is radically different: détente-out-of-optimism instead of détente-out-of-pessimism. The dark Spenglerian words of the gloomier moments of the Kissinger era have been replaced by a new confidence at the top.

Rightly or wrongly, the Carter-Vance-Brzezinski-Turner team disavows the view that a détente deal has to be struck quickly while the cards are still favorable — because the West is declining, the East rising. Instead, they say, détente can be afforded precisely because Moscow cannot in the foreseeable future close the gap on Western precision technology.

With variations from leader to leader, they argue that the Kremlin has thrown its all into heavy weaponry as an instrument of policy but has not surmounted the increasing sophistication of Western weapons. Result, in their view: in neither the world economic race nor the arms race is Moscow — with its heavy 19th-century ideology — closing the gap.

One is tempted to call this the "new optimism." The President him-

self recently referred to "a new American foreign policy — a policy based on constant decency in its values and on an optimism in its historical vision."

But "optimism" is too simplistic a description, say some of the President's supporters. Whatever word one uses to describe it, however, the President and the members of his national security team have rejected the "pessimism" of former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, who, in his darker moments, appeared to believe in the decline of the West. More specifically, they reject what they describe as alarmist views of Soviet strength, views which were held not so much by Dr. Kissinger as by other members of President Gerald R. Ford's national security team.

The new team, including in particular Mr. Carter and his Secretary of Defense, Central Intelligence Agency Director, and National Security Adviser, view the Soviet Union as a power which can do little well other than build weapons; which even in the field of military technology lags behind the United States; and which stands no chance of matching the economic strength of the West.

Here is what some of the top people in the national security and foreign policy fields have been saying:

• Harold Brown, Secretary of Defense: "Generally speaking, there is no reason for immediate or grave alarm about our ability to deter men for military actions by the Soviet Union. . . . Worst case estimates of Soviet power do not do a service to American strength throughout the world."

\*Please turn to Page 14

## Stellenbosch University

### Blacks get a foot in white South African college door

By Humphrey Tyler  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Cape Town

The edges of the South African Government's apartheid policy are being chipped at round the edges — even when those edges are in the citadels of Afrikanerdom. (Afrikaners are the most hard-line supporters of apartheid, the policy of strict separation of the races.)

The latest example of this is the decision by the University of Stellenbosch to admit black students to its all-white, highly conservative, overwhelmingly Afrikaans-speaking campus. Stellenbosch University, in a lovely village of the same name, about 30 miles from Cape Town, the seat of the South African Parliament, has always been regarded as the intellectual heart of Afrikanerdom. Most of the country's National Party prime ministers have studied there. The present Prime Minister, John Vorster, is the chancellor, and there are other cabinet ministers on the university's council.

The streets of the town are lined with old oak trees. Many of the homes and other buildings are vintage South African aloof, national monuments dating back to the early Dutch and French settlers and carefully preserved. The sunny valleys roundabout are covered with acres upon acres of vineyards. In the distance is a ring of mountains trapping the sun.

Steeped in tradition by its very surroundings, Stellenbosch University has also been steeped in an atmosphere of racial exclusivity as well. Every one of its more than 10,000 students is white. The decision to open the door to black students is a complete reversal of original National Party apartheid policy.

Under this policy, bitterly opposed by the major English-language universities like Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg and the University of Cape Town, which is one of South Africa's pillars of liberal thinking, each racial group and even each "subgroup" is supposed to have its own exclusive university.

The legislation to enforce this, ironically entitled the Extension of University Education Act, was introduced in 1969. Instead of from government opponents of the act, it was introduced by a group of white university students, which originally admitted only English-speaking students. The act was intended to extend university education to the English-speaking students, which originally admitted only English-speaking students.

## Non-protesters rights threatened

Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Canberra

When Allan Percy, camping writer for the West, Wyong, Weekly, an Australian country newspaper, visited Canberra, he found the lawns in front of Parliament House occupied by the tented camp of a group of protesters against uranium mining.

Next day the protesters had left, so Mr. Percy set up his own tent on the same spot, right on the edge of Lake Burley Griffin, threw a rod over the lake, and caught a silver trout. He was trying to show his prime minister that the law appeared.

"Excuse me sir," said the policeman, "but what are you doing here?"

"Camping," said Mr. Percy.

The policeman asked him what he was protesting about. Where were his placards?

Mr. Percy assured the constable that on the contrary he was not protesting at all, he was delighted with the place.

The policeman said it was most irregular, and he could only camp there if he was engaged in a protest; otherwise, he would be arrested. "You think of something to protest about sir," he said, "while I find you a board and some paint."

Mr. Percy scratched his head, without result. The law returned with paint and board, on which the camper wrote in bold letters: "I PROTEST."

The policeman looked doubtful. "You're supposed to be protesting against something," he said. "I'll ask the inspector, and if I don't come back, you'll know it's all right."

He did not come back.





## Highlights



**SAVE-A-WHALE.** The International Whaling Commission meets in Australia on Monday to discuss how many whales may be slaughtered next year. **Page 21**

**SAMARKAND.** The Monitor's Moscow correspondent travels into Soviet Asia to visit Samarkand with its Arabian Nights atmosphere. **Page 18**

**SUEZ CANAL.** Egypt's plans for a deeper, wider canal are going ahead. So is prospecting for oil on that part of the Sinai relinquished by Israel. **Page 5**

**VIOLENCE IN HOLLAND.** Why the South Moluccans felt driven to kidnap school children and hijack a train is examined. **Page 3**

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## FOCUS

## Taking a drug-runner to freedom

By Joe Gandelman

**Irda, Spain**  
U.S. Consul Walter West's chauffeur-driven car zips along the mountain highway overlooking the deep-blue shoreline from Bilbao to Santander. It is en route to pick up a special cargo.

At Santofie, outside the northern city of Santander, the car approaches a rusty gate and toots its horn twice. The gates to El Dueso Prison creak open as machine-gun-toting Civil Guards look on.

Nearby, a heavy-set guard casually watches television news and reads *As*, a popular Madrid sports newspaper. Then the cargo arrives: John (not his real name), free for the first time in 3½ years — 3½ years spent behind bars for drug trafficking. And as the "rechazado" (rejected) stamp put on his passport by Spanish authorities suggests, he now is free to leave Spain... immediately.

Walter West had been asked to help him go so. The car drives away from prison, and John says to Mr. West, a quiet and thoughtful man: "Gee, it's great to be in a car and to be able to ride without handcuffs." But John leaves behind 28 other Americans jailed throughout Spain, many on drug-related charges.

John's sentence was one of the stiffest ever handed down to an American in Spain: the maximum, 12 years. King Juan Carlos's

various "indultos" (pardons) ultimately reduced his term to 3½ years. The story began with what John now admits was a mistaken sense of self-importance.

When he was 22, he visited Morocco. There, he accepted payment to bring a car into Spain. It contained 50 kilos of hashish. "Usually a chassis sounds hollow," John says as the consul's car heads toward the French border. "But this obviously sounded full. The Spanish police knocked on the chassis, then just stood there with smiles on their faces."

So why did he do it? For money. As a "joke." For "adventure." But mostly, he tells Mr. West (who tries to learn from John's motives and prison experiences so as to prevent other cases in the future), "because I was incredibly naive."

He goes on: "You sit in prison and shout: 'You can't do this to me,' and the prison functionaries simply answer 'Just watch.'"

In prison, he reports, the food was "not bad." A priest heavily censored periodicals, especially *Time* and *Newsweek*, which the priest charged "tell lies about Spain."

Yet, John feels little bitterness about his experience... and little remorse. He only complains that "the [prison] system is too bureaucratic." And as the car enters Irda, he expresses his one desire: to go to France and be alone.

According to Madrid diplomats who deal with drug crime prisoners, such attitudes are not unusual. Some freed prisoners say, "I want to go on television and warn it's a dumb thing to do, don't do anything in Spain." Others declare: "I still like the stuff and intend to go back to it: it's my head and no government should tell me what to do." And then there is the third, introspective type, like John. They say little.

The underlying link in each of these attitudes is that it is society that is at fault. This has stirred up considerable debate within some sectors of the American community on whether to completely disown or show compassion for American prisoners jailed on drug-related charges.

Now, the consular car stops at the border. Mr. West spends 30 minutes getting various documents stamped which confirm John's departure to the Spanish Government. He spends another half hour reassuring French police, who are clearly unhappy John will enter their country. This shocks him: "I'm out and they're making me feel like I'm still a criminal," he says in a daze.

To calm his apprehensions, and also to ensure he gets off unharrassed, Mr. West drives him to the Hendaye train station in France. John, deeply moved, thanks him warmly. Now, his nearly six-hour Bilbao-Santofie-Irda mission over, the consul sneaks off for a French pastry.

Darkness sets in as the car speeds back to Bilbao. "It all comes with the job," shrugs Mr. West. But Americans and Spaniards here hope one day the part of the job involving special cargoes will be ended.

## Elizabeth and the Church of Scotland

By Francis Reamy  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

**Edinburgh**  
It looked daring of Queen Elizabeth to venture into Scotland for a Jubilee visit on the very eve of the Scottish National Party's assembly — but it paid off. Even while asserting that separation and independence was indeed their real purpose, the ScotNats had to make it clear to the voters that they were loyal monarchists just the same.

Scotland attaches vast importance to privileges and ceremonies. The Queen, who is an Anglican south of the border and a Presbyterian north of it, did not put a foot wrong. Attending the wordy debates of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, she carefully observed the ritual bowing first to the 1,200 commissioners — to center, to right and to left — and not expecting them to bow first to her. And she was heartily applauded by them for promising to uphold their rights.

She was rewarded by this year's Moderator, the Right Reverend John R. Gray (a man of imposing presence and wit) who told her the following story of her illustrious predecessor, Queen Victoria:

A courtier enquired of the old Queen how she had enjoyed her luncheon. "The food disagreed with me," she complained. "Oh, ma'am," trembled the courtier, "I admire its courage."

One is glad to report that Queen Elizabeth (the first north of the border — the second only south of it) laughed publicly and immoderately, and endeared herself to Scotland all the more.

The Church of Scotland — the Kirk — is a vital link in her hold upon the nation. The Kirk has its nationalists. It is disappointed at the slow progress towards Devolution, and it would like a referendum to establish the will of the people. But it has no inclination for wild political experiments, particularly those of a left-wing character. And it is not sure that the Scottish National Party is entirely immune to Marxist influences.

Not is it swept away by cries of "Scotland's oil!" as a justification for breaking up the union with England. Moderator Gray remarks that it is his impression it is God's oil, and he hopes its blessings will be carefully shared.

The Church of Scotland can very well claim a larger membership than the ScotNats. It has more than a million adult communicants, and a

budget of about £18,000,000 for the coming year. But it has its weaknesses. Membership is declining at the rate of 20,000 a year, and it is going to take an unprecedented effort of fund-raising to close the gap between budget needs and the current rate of giving.

An exasperated report to the General Assembly accused the average Scot of putting no more than 50-pence a week into the collection plate: "Less than the cost of two cups of coffee in a cafe," lamented one official — though he had to admit that was a pretty pricey café he had in mind.

The ministry, too, is short of men. But for a program of amalgamating parishes, it would need another 1,500. Even the fact that Scots ministers have a rather higher basic stipend than Anglican priests does not seem to help the recruiting.

So how can it be that an institution which so much embodies the Scottish tradition and culture, which produces the nearest thing to a Scots parliament under present circumstances, and which is still so much feared as a moral arbiter, is so rapidly weakening?

The outgoing Moderator, Professor Thomas Torrance, speaks with distress of the three million Scots who are not on the rolls of any church at all. He blames the disunity of the churches for this: though it has to be said the churches were even more disunited in the days when the Church of Scotland was at the height of its powers.

It is only now that a shared horror of atheism and moral degeneracy has brought them together; only this year that the General Assembly invited the Cardinal Archbishop of Edinburgh, Gordon Gray, to address it in fraternal love.

The conjunction of Moderator Gray with Cardinal Gray was too much for Scottish wit to resist. Introducing the Cardinal, Professor John Whyte was moved to exclaim upon the coincidence, adding:

"Though of course, two Grays do not make one Whyte!"

"If I may interrupt," said the Moderator, "two Grays come to grace."

And he then went on to weave a delicate arch of oratory, saying that while the Cardinal would not share his enthusiasm for Geneva, nor be the Cardinal's for Rome, perhaps they might go together to Bethlehem — and to Jerusalem, which is the Mother of us all.

So there is much to make the Kirk gather its friends and its members around its shoulders to keep its spirit warm.



## In West Germany

## Communism takes to middle-class ways

By David Mutch  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor  
Frankfurt, West Germany

The ultra radical Communist League of West Germany is caving in to some middle-class methods.

This Maoist group has just bought for more than \$1 million a large building well located in Frankfurt to serve as its new headquarters.

The Maoists recently redid their organizational chart on a national basis and bought an expensive computer communications system to keep the scattered chapters in close touch with headquarters.

Behind these middle-class methods, however, stands clearly the revolutionary intent of bringing down business-as-usual society.

The league is the strongest group of what is called the New Left here. It opposes Moscow communism, especially the Warsaw Pact arms build-up and what its literature calls "revisionism" and "social-imperialist power."

It argues that Soviet military might is only an expression of the tendency of "state capitalism" to exploit the working class and to accumulate capital.

League militants consider themselves the only pure revolutionaries left in a country where the communist aim has been "obscured and distorted." That is, they disdain the larger West German Communist Party which is financed by East Germany and is loyal to Moscow.

According to the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, the Communist League has 2,500 members or a few more, up 50 over the last 18 months. It also has 2,500 active sympathizers, the office says.

Last year the league gave more than \$20,000 to nationalist guerrillas in Africa. This was the same year it was raising money to buy

its building and its communications system. Federal government officials estimate many members are required to give \$40 a month to their party.

Party officials in Frankfurt, however, say the members give the money "willingly." Marlin Fochler, assistant chairman of the party's central committee, said in an interview the league has 3,000 members, plus 3,000 active supporters, and between 10,000 and 30,000 sympathizers.

"To stop us," he says defiantly, "the state would have to arrest up to 30,000 people."

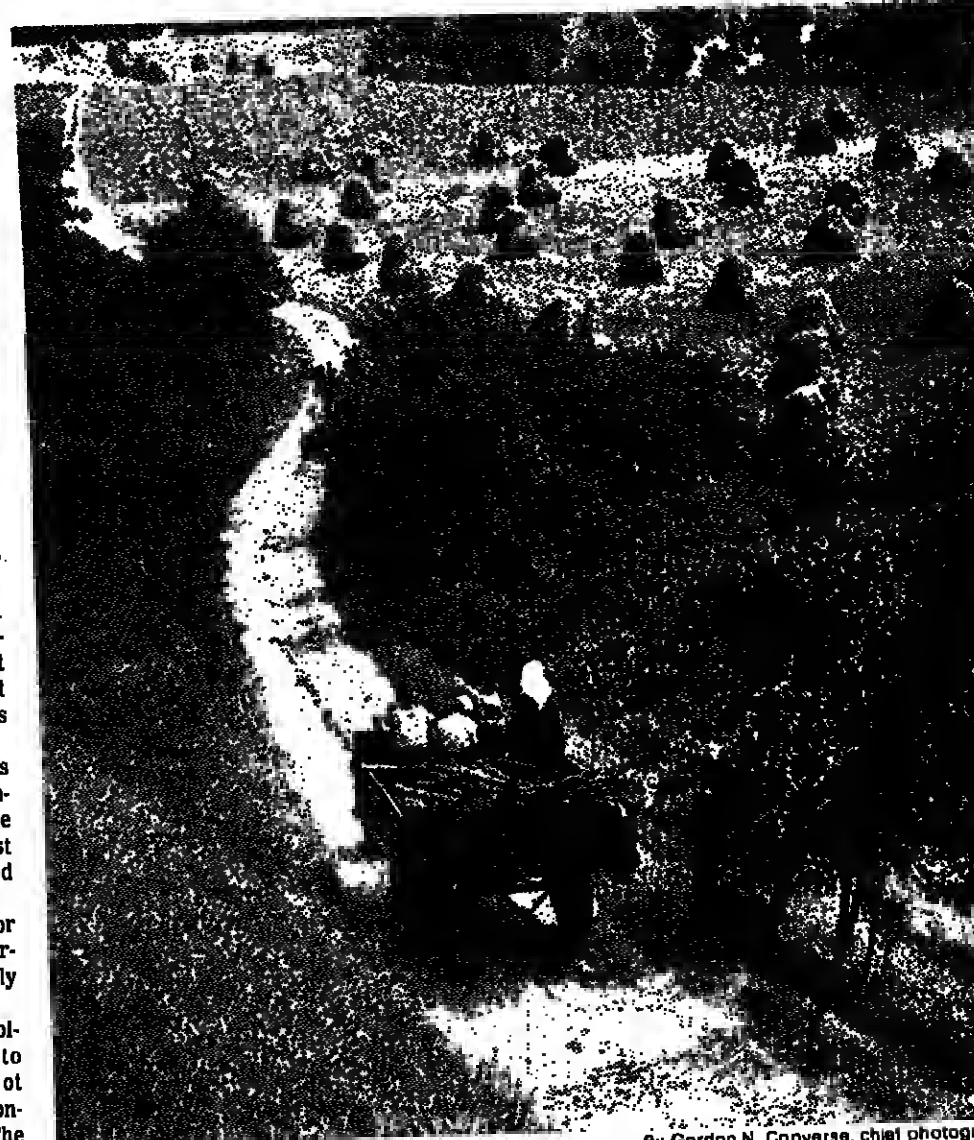
Mr. Fochler says the league does not support "terrorists." (After federal prosecutor Siegfried Buback was murdered April 7 by West German terrorists, several radical student groups at universities — not using party names — issued statements praising the killing.)

A long interview with Mr. Fochler and his assistant, Christoph Cornicé, unfolded a tangled web of ideological views. Although the bulk of their propaganda is directed against the Soviet Union, they consider the United States the classic enemy.

The league's book store on the ground floor of its new headquarters sells political literature from Peking in which Moscow is hotly accused of cooperating with the U.S.

Eurocommunism is a "corruption of ideology," Mr. Fochler claims, because it fails to see capitalism as the basis of "every kind of slavery" and has hence dropped the revolutionary ideal of the victory of the proletariat. The last straw, he says, was the French Communist Party's decision to support the French nuclear force.

The league apparently does not know how to deal with the problem of a divided Germany. It favors withdrawal of Western troops from Western Europe — which most Western leaders feel would give a practical victory to



Heymeking time in West Germany

the Soviets. It fully expects a conventional war in Europe. Said Mr. Fochler: "Both NATO and the Warsaw Pact are aggressive expressions of the profitmakers. War will be an extension of their competition."

At the same time he doubts whether Mr. Carter can "hold the Americans together for a conventional war in Europe." And he admits to being completely baffled by many aspects of American life.

## Why South Moluccans turned to violence in Holland

By Henri J. Warmenhoven  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

South Moluccan terrorism, which has hit the Netherlands twice within 18 months, stems from a background that is in some ways similar to that of Palestinian extremism.

Both the Palestinian and the South Moluccan causes have their origins in decisions taken shortly after World War II. In both cases the original exiles, those physically removed from their habitats, went through the agonizing experience of status deprivation and identity crisis.

In both cases the homeland has remained the ideal. Terrorism resulted from the acute frustration this aspiration met for more than a quarter of a century.

In both cases it is the second generation that

has taken over — young men and women who have not lived or even seen the homelands themselves. And it is the young who perpetrate violent acts that may victimize innocent persons.

However, the Palestine Liberation Organization is today in an infinitely better position to achieve its aims than are the South Moluccans living in the Netherlands. Establishment of a Palestinian homeland has become the centerpiece of the Middle East question. The South Moluccans lack the numbers (their total on the island of Ceram from where they were evacuated is currently about 40,000) and they lack the support from countries that are influential in world politics.

## Inclusion opposed

The people of the South Moluccan Islands in the former Dutch East Indies sided with the Dutch in World War II and again when the In-

donesian revolution erupted immediately after the war.

They vigorously opposed inclusion in the new federated state set up when Indonesia won its independence in 1949, and, when the Indonesian leaders set out to scrap the federal system and establish a unitary state, the South Moluccans proclaimed an independent republic.

The Indonesians crushed the secessionist effort in six months of fighting. The Moluccan leader, Dr. Soumokil, fled to the rugged interior of the island of Ceram from where he continued the struggle for years. Nearly 15,000 of his supporters and their families were evacuated by the Dutch and taken to the Netherlands.

From the start the status of the new arrivals was not clear. The South Moluccans refused to be identified as "immigrants" since that label had a ring of permanence. They preferred the

term "exiles," and set up a "government-in-exile."

The South Moluccans were housed in Army barracks and prison camps that were relics of World War II. Soon after their arrival they were demobilized, a move that came as a devastating blow. Most of the men had been in military service all their lives and had expected to be allowed to retain their rank and remain in uniform so as to prepare for the day of return to their islands. They were offered retraining programs at government expense and given unemployment benefits until they found new jobs. For the South Moluccans the combined effect of these measures was one of extreme humiliation.

## Two factions emerge

Materially the Dutch Government treated the refugees fairly if not generously. But unrest and restlessness developed at a very early stage. During the 1960s two factions began to emerge. While the majority remained moderate and continued to advocate a wait-and-see line, the remainder (about one-third) had grown tired of waiting and adopted a more extreme stance. The latter group grew as more and more disillusioned young persons joined the radical ranks and began to resort to acts of petty violence and vandalism.

Meanwhile, whatever interest the Dutch Government still had in Asia and the Pacific was economic in nature. And when the Sukarno era ended in Indonesia and the new Suharto administration was firmly in the saddle, a rapprochement between Indonesia and the Netherlands rapidly gained momentum.

The cause of the South Moluccans did not fit into the new pattern of relationships.

Unlike the Palestinians, the case of the South Moluccan exiles is likely to remain deadlocked unless they decide to resign themselves to the second-best option — a return to their ancestral home as a part of Indonesia.

Henri J. Warmenhoven is an associate professor of political science at Virginia Commonwealth University.

## Bulent Ecevit: new Turkish leader lacks majority

By Sam Cohen  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

**Istanbul**  
Turkey appears headed for a new period of political instability as a result of the June 5 general elections.

Final results from outlying rural areas have dashed the hopes of Bulent Ecevit's left-of-center Republican People's Party (RPP) of having enough seats in the National Assembly to form a strong single-party government. Although the RPP will be the biggest party in Parliament, it will be 13 seats short of an absolute majority.

Latest figures released by the election commission gave the RPP 215 seats in the 450-seat National Assembly and the conservative Justice Party of outgoing Premier Suleyman Demirel 194 seats. The strongly Islamic National Salvation Party (NSP) won 24 seats and the ultra-right Nationalist Movement Party 16 seats.

As political bargaining and maneuvering start, it is not clear what kind of a government Turkey will have, or when it will take effect.

## Two paths difficult

In accordance with the Constitution, Mr. Ecevit will be asked to form the new government, and the post-turned-politician reaffirmed June 9 that he would accept the mission. The question is how he will do it.

Mr. Ecevit has two options: to set up a minority government or to form a coalition cabinet. Both alternatives present great difficulties.

The RPP hopes to get support for a minority government from four independent and four members of two center-right parties. But this will not give it a majority. The RPP now is maneuvering to woo members of the National Assembly of outgoing Premier Suleyman Demirel.

Mr. Ecevit appealed to all members of Parliament "wishing to preserve democracy, to restore law and order, and solve urgent economic problems."

Mr. Ecevit, who had an unhappy experience in a coalition partnership with Mr. Demirel in 1974, is not enthusiastic about it. But he may resort reluctantly to such a partnership if he has no other choice.

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# Soviet Union

## On the farm: skill pays off where ideology fails

By Eric Bourne

Vienna

Not far from Cracow, in southern Poland, Tadeusz M. showed off his new medium-horse-power tractor.

One old mare grazed in the orchard. The other horses were sold when he mechanized. Poles have a love for horses, so "I had to keep one," Tadeusz said.

Then he took his visitors over his 40 acres, mostly planted in wheat. The previous year's yield per acre had matched that on the vast cooperative (collective) farm he had visited earlier in the day. This year's crop looked just as promising.

Tadeusz is one of 4 million full-time farmers who own and till 75 percent of the arable land in Poland.

He is a good farmer and would cheerfully double his holding — and his work — but adjacent land is not available. In the last few years he has improved his house, refurbished it, and put carpets on the floors.

All over Eastern Europe one finds such dedicated farming individuals. In the other East-bloc states, in fact, it is even more remarkable because there the private-state ratio is reversed.

Some 90 percent or more of the land is collectivized. The remainder is either marginal land unsuitable for inclusion or the half-acre to acre private plots that members of collective farms were allowed to retain when the state took over.

The cooperatives themselves are much better run now than in the early years. The system is the same, but skills, farming common-sense (for example, concern to acquire Western technology and equipment), and incentives push ideology aside.

What happens on these tiny private plots is a success story acknowledged more and more by most communist governments.

Without them, they know, they would have had far greater difficulties in ensuring national harvests against intermittent crises caused by the weather or by misadministration of the big state-farms.

Private holdings in Czechoslovakia, as in the Soviet Union, are restricted to a minimum; they are limited to one-third of the area in Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria.

But even in bad years they account for an amazing percentage of all farm output in these three countries: 25 percent of cattle, 30 percent of hogs, 40 percent of poultry, and 60 percent of milk and eggs. In earlier days such would have been anathema to the hard-liners.

They still are heard from. In economically troubled Poland party leader Edward Gierek has come down heavily and repeatedly this year on local officials for blocking purchases of unused land by efficient farmers.

Even long-term ideas of the so-called "socialist countryside" are being downplayed to remove peasant suspicion and encourage them to produce more. There always will be a place in Poland for good private farmers, Mr. Gierek pledges repeatedly.

Opportunities for bigger farms and preparation of a retirement pension scheme are part of the deal. Elsewhere in Eastern Europe farmers of private plots are being encouraged to increase their output with tax concessions, better prices, credits, livestock subsidies, and cheaper fodder. Hungary is spending \$12 million this year for "private" machinery. Bulgaria has lifted all limits on how many cattle a peasant may raise.

There still are problems, of course. It is both sad and ironic that although private holdings are no longer scoffed at as lingering remnants of a peasant tradition and although governments set out instead to help them become paying small-farm units that tradition clearly is diminishing by itself.

The drift from land to town gathers pace all the time. Village youths go to urban jobs and are loath to lend a hand on father's plot at the end of the day.

Tadeusz's 34-year-old son came home as he was leaving. And the father told of his one big concern — that the son may not want to quit a good job and regular hours in a factory to take over even a prosperous farm when Tadeusz himself retires.



By Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

Moscow pet dealer shows off puppy, but many people choose exotic pets

## Too many pets — a Soviet problem, too

Boars, squirrels, cats and dogs by millions need protection from owners, Moscow says

By David K. Willis  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow

One family kept a lion and a wolf in its apartment by the Caspian Sea.

Another man, a villager, tamed two wild boars. When he went walking, they trotted along at his heels, like dogs.

Hundreds of squirrels are kept in private apartments. Pet crows are common in some areas.

The Soviet Union, it seems, has its own pet problem, just as the West does.

Despite cramped living space and frequent food shortages, the yearning for pets is strong.

But humane authorities report too many wild animals being killed by misplaced kindness, too many stray cats and dogs, and there is too much maltreatment of domestic pets in general.

### Many are careless

As in the West, large numbers of pet owners love their animals and care for them properly. But also as in the West, many do not.

Now authorities in Moscow, in Lithuania, in Estonia, and elsewhere are introducing new regulations and suggesting others. But much remains to be done, judging by comments in the central Soviet press.

"It's quite the fashion these days to have a touch of the exotic in your apartment," says one Moscow woman disapprovingly.

"Mostly it's some kind of wild animal skin, such as a reindeer, on the floor or on a sofa. But sometimes it's an unusual animal."

Another woman wrote a scathing letter to a magazine condemning this as "a puma on the carpet, crocodile in the bathtub syndrome."

Now it is illegal to keep wild animals at

home in Lithuania. In the Russian Republic, maltreating animals is classed as malicious vandalism. In Estonia, a second conviction for animal cruelty in any 12-month period carries either a fine of as much as 100 rubles (\$134), which is a month's pay for many workers, or a jail term of up to one year.

### Problem admittedly worse

The president of the Moscow Humane Society, K. Semyonova, says the stray dog and cat problem has worsened in Moscow in recent years. But, she insists, there ought to be other ways of solving it than by shooting the animals, which is often done now.

Taking part in a roundtable discussion with Professor Semyonova (as reported in the weekly supplement of Izvestia), conservation society member V. Zikun said irresponsible pet owners were the root of the problem.

"Someone buys a Great Dane [a marbled one, just like the neighbors] or a Siamese cat, or hamsters, but then marbled Great Danes go out of style or the cat turns out to have a mean disposition, or the hamsters are a lot of trouble . . . and out they go," he said.

Parents also are to blame for not teaching children to care for animals, said conservation society inspector Yulia Kolodtova. Once she took a 12-year-old boy to his parents carrying a dove he had injured, but the parents told her she had no right to interfere with the child's playing.

Professor Semyonova said, several "socialist countries" spread sterilizing drugs around the habitats of stray animals. But in the Soviet Union, she complained, people are paid for catching animals and turning them in. This should be abolished. A special agency should be set up — and a fixed wage set rather than fees for each animal. Such fees lead to mass sacrifice of people's pets, she said.

## Deeper Suez planned to bring Sinai oil

By John K. Cooley  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Albans

Despite growing uncertainties over the prospects for a Middle East peace settlement between Israel's new rightist government and its Arab adversaries, Egypt is pushing plans to improve the Suez Canal and extract oil from territory Israel has relinquished in Sinai.

The chairman of Egypt's Suez Canal Authority (SCA), Mashour Ahmed Mashour, is reported to have signed in Riyadh, the Saudi Arabia capital, a loan agreement for an additional \$50 million to widen and deepen the canal so that it can accommodate supertankers.

This new Saudi endorsement of Egypt's peacetime development plans closely followed celebrations June 4-6 of the second anniversary of the canal's reopening by Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat, after its eight years closure following the June, 1967, Arab-Israeli war and Israeli occupation of Sinai.

Since October, 1973, when Egypt succeeded in regaining the canal's east bank, and the Egypt-Israel disengagement accords of 1974 and 1975, about one million Egyptians have returned to the canal area to live and work.

### Arab financing heavy

Resettlement and reconstruction, like the canal's widening and deepening, which is being undertaken by a Japanese-led contracting

group, has been heavily financed by Saudi Arabia and other Arab oil states.

Middle East business sources have interpreted new oil concessions in the canal area as another sign of President Sadat's peaceful intentions in Sinai, but also as new proof of his determination to give the West a heavier economic stake in an Arab-Israeli settlement.

For the first time, Egypt recently authorized a Western oil firm — Gulf Oil of the United States — to undertake oil prospecting in a 1,400-square-mile area in the strip of Sinai relinquished by Israel.

Under an accord with the Egyptian Petroleum Authority (EPA), Gulf is to explore the area of east Kantara, in northwestern Sinai. EPA is to take 80 percent of expected commercial crude oil production and Gulf the remaining 20 percent. EPA sources announced in Cairo. Gulf is committed to spend \$28.2 million over eight years and is paying a \$4 million signature bonus and a \$24 million production bonus.

EPA said it expected shortly to sign an equal-sized concession offshore from Port Said.

In addition, the international Egyptian Oil Company, a subsidiary of Italy's state firm Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi (ENI), was recently awarded a 937-square-mile concession offshore from the Egyptian-controlled strip of Sinai just east of the Suez Canal.

The ceremonies at Suez City included President Sadat's inauguration of work on the first of a series of road tunnels connecting the Asian with the African shore of the canal.

Figures announced by SCA Chairman Mashour indicate the canal has not fully recovered the level of traffic reached when it closed 10 years ago.

### First cargo for Israel

Just under 20,000 ships transited the canal in both directions from June, 1976 to May, 1977, as against 12,000 from June, 1975 to June, 1976, and 22,000 in 1966. The canal's annual total capacity is 25,000 ships.

Since June, 1976, 436 million tons of freight, including the first-ever Israel-bound cargoes, carried on non-Israeli ships, have used the canal. But the SCA says 15 percent of world maritime commercial traffic now uses the waterway, as compared to 13 percent at the time of its closing in 1967.

Although traffic is less than 1967, revenues in terms of constant monetary values are about the same as those of 1966, because transit fees



By Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

Awaiting ferry at Port Said, at northern end of Suez Canal

have doubled, the SCA says. At the end of the first half of 1977, the canal is netting Egypt \$1.2 million daily. Total 1977 revenues are estimated at \$500 million, with a target of \$1 billion for 1980.

Canal enlargement plans due for completion in 1980 will admit ships with 53-foot draft, instead of 38 at present, allowing smaller-sized super tankers — up to 160,000 tons — instead of 60,000 tons, the present limit, to use the canal.

## Now it's Prince Edward who will study in Scotland

By Reuter

London

Prince Edward, youngest son of Queen Elizabeth, will be joining his elder brother, Prince Andrew, at Gordonstown School in Scotland in September, a Buckingham Palace spokesman says.

Prince Edward, 13, will be following in the footsteps of his father, the Duke of Edinburgh, and eldest brother, Prince Charles, both of whom were educated at the school.

Prince Andrew, 16, has spent the last six months at Lakefield College in Ontario, Canada, and is due to return to Gordonstown after his summer vacation.

## Trickle of aid from U.S.S.R. disappoints third world

By Paul Wohl

Special to

The Christian Science Monitor

Among the disappointments at the end of the 18 months of talks at the 27-nation North-South economic conference, which ended in Paris June 3, was the refusal of the Soviet bloc to honor third world demands for a minimum fixed percentage of development aid.

The developing countries had asked that each industrialized country earmark at least 0.7 percent of its gross national product for aid to the third world.

Only a few small West European countries, such as the Netherlands, Sweden, and Norway, complied. West Germany, West Europe's richest country, contributed less than 0.7 percent of its GNP. The United States also lagged.

But the greatest disappointment was the attitude of the Soviet bloc.

In a surprisingly frank speech delivered May 11 in Gorman before 70 members of the Soviet Academy and the staff of the academy's prestigious Institute for the Study of the United States and Canada, West Germany's Egon Bahr, the father of Bonn's "ostpolitik" (eastern policy), quoted facts and figures that should have made the Soviets blush.

West Germany alone, said Mr. Bahr, gave 2 1/2 times as much for development aid in 1975 as all the countries of the Warsaw Pact. Between 1974 and 1975 the Western industrial countries increased their contributions to development overseas from \$11.3 to \$13.6 billion, whereas the contributions from the Warsaw Pact countries dropped from \$1 billion to \$0.8 billion.

Development aid from countries with planned economies declined between 1970 and 1974 from 2.6 percent of the total to 2.3 percent. The U.S.S.R. was especially delinquent.

According to European Common Market statistics, the Soviet Union's net payment for development aid dropped from \$650 million in 1972 to \$350 million in 1975, whereas China's contribution during the same period rose from \$250 million to \$375 million.

At the UNCTAD council of April of this year the speaker for 77 developing countries told the "socialist" countries that they should recognize the beginning of a new era in which all countries had to be concerned with the problems of the third world.

Yet only in supplying arms was the Soviet Union in the lead.

The Soviets argued that the third world's economic problems had been caused by colonialism, that the U.S.S.R. and its associates never had colonies and therefore were not responsible for the plight of the developing countries. Furthermore, according to Moscow, the "socialist" countries never had exploited other countries economically and had no responsibility for the untoward consequences of the currency crisis and other problems of the capitalist world.

As the Soviets see it, the aid that socialist countries have given the developing countries is supplied to friends and allies in the struggle against the common enemy — "imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism."

The developing countries do not seem to see it quite that way. In African and Asian perspective, said Mr. Bahr, all industrial countries, whether they have a market or a state economy, are rich compared with Africans and Asians.

Yet only 0.6 percent of the Soviet gross national product is earmarked for development aid, whereas the Western industrial countries give the developing countries at least 0.3 percent of their gross national product.

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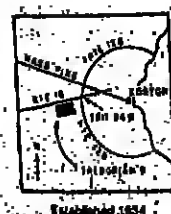
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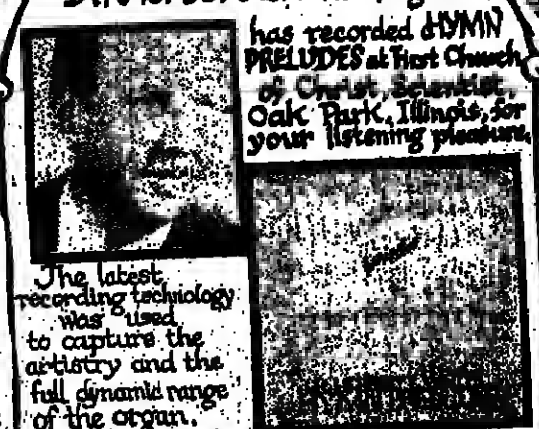
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# United States

## Rewiring the energy package

By Peter C. Stuart  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
After barely two weeks of congressional consideration, the likely legislative shape of President Carter's energy package is already beginning to emerge.

And there are surprises. A few of the most controversial and heavily lobbied features are holding up stupidly, while occasionally a presumably popular "sure winner" just squeaks through.

Here is the legislative scorecard so far on the President's major energy proposals:

• Crude oil tax: Initial approval. The surprisingly emphatic approval of a wealth tax on American crude oil — in the face of withering lobbying by oil interests and the prospect of indirectly hiking voters' gasoline costs by several cents a gallon — ranks as the administration's biggest victory.

• Gasoline tax: Initial (and probably final) rejection. The quick rejection of a direct tax of 5 cents to 50 cents a gallon on gasoline by the Ways and Means Committee last week, 27 to 10, (and even a milder tax of 3 cents a gallon) is interpreted as reflecting the irreversible unpopularity of this Carter proposal.

• New-car taxes: partial approval, partial rejection. The survival of a weakened tax on fuel-inefficient "gas guzzler" cars in the Ways and Means Committee last week is counterbalanced by the demise of rebates for low-gasoline-consumption models.

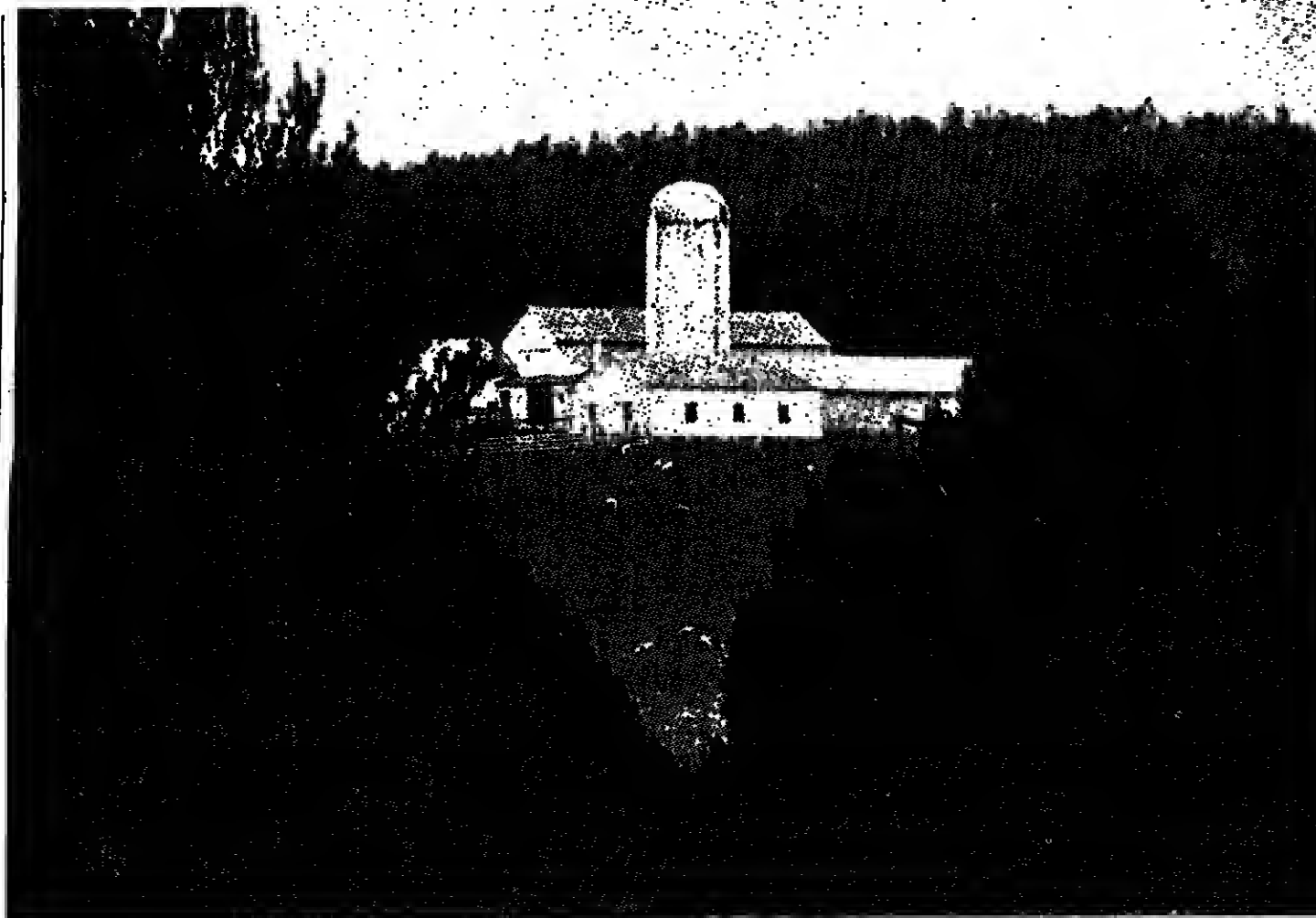
• Natural gas price decontrol: tentative acceptance. A House commerce subcommittee's recent vote to deregulate the price of much American natural gas to stimulate production rebuffs the President's call for higher but still controlled prices. But the nearly even split within Congress on this issue leaves the final outcome in doubt.

• Nuclear power: partial rejection. The controversial development of nuclear-fuel-producing "breeder" reactors, which Mr. Carter wants to shelve, was unshaken by the House Science and Technology Committee June 14.

• Alternative energy sources: initial approval. Swift acceptance by the Ways and Means Committee, of tax credits for homeowners who install solar and wind energy devices suggests Congress may go along with this presidential initiative.

• Home insulation: shaky approval. The supposedly uncontroversial tax credit for insulating homes to conserve energy squeaked through the Ways and Means Committee by a one-vote margin which may foreshadow more unexpected trouble ahead.

• Tax redistribution: a hint of approval. The Carter goal of channeling revenues from higher energy costs to consumers and taxpayers through tax rebates and direct payments, rather than to energy companies as windfall profits, won qualified endorsement with the Ways and Means Committee's rejection June 14 of any "playback" to oil producers from the new oil wealth tax.



By Barth J. Falkenberg, staff photographer

Quiet farms complete with grazing sheep are available but the costs soar above the allos

## Farms for sale: only the rich need apply

By Richard J. Cottani  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Chicago  
That farm in the country the pollsters say a lot of Americans have been meaning to buy some day — raising some fruit trees and rattle along with a kitchen garden, and goats — perhaps should be forgotten.

The American pastoral dream already has been largely priced beyond the means of all but the most aggressive and prosperous farmers, plus those such as lawyers and doctors who often invest in land much as they would city real estate or paintings.

And the farmland price trend continues up — against economic reason, agricultural economists say.

Farmers today must be as familiar with money as they are with land. A 500-acre farm at \$2,000 an acre would cost \$1 million for land alone today, Purdue University economist J. H. Atkinson says. Add another \$100,000 for used machinery, \$75,000 for operating capital. A person would need \$300,000 to \$400,000 of his own money and could borrow the rest, he says.

Most farmland buyers already own land and machinery, whose value they average in with new land to keep overall debt down. Freshmen farmers, however, are finding it harder than ever to get started, with land costs climbing and crop prices falling.

The consumer, too, has a stake in the farmland price climb.

"Some argue farmland values won't have any impact on food prices," says Gary L. Benjamin, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago economist. "Maybe that's true in the short run. But over the long run, it can't help but push prices up."

In Illinois, which paid the nation last year with a 41 percent farmland price surge, land values rose faster than ever the first quarter of this year, reports Mr. Benjamin.

"The sustained strength in farmland prices is baffling," Mr. Benjamin says. Such factors as drought and sinking wheat, corn, milk prices might have been expected to temper farmland price inflation more than they apparently have, he says.

Some signs of slowing are turning up, however.

"In Texas, where low cattle and wheat prices have been evident, the pace of land value increase has definitely slowed," Mr. Benjamin says.

The West Coast drought is partly credited with holding California's farmland value increase last year to 3 percent — and with retarding land price hikes in the Dakotas.

"There is a prospect that land prices might level off or dip in a couple of years," says Mr. Atkinson, one of the few farmland experts to make such a prediction. "Land prices are related to weather. If the weather is normal, the corn crop will be so big we will see lower corn

prices and possibly lower prices for corn land."

But farmland price watchers are not sure this will happen. They see prices for land rising out of proportion to increases in what farmers can earn from farming it. The yearly cost for principal and interest on Illinois land, for instance, rose from 27 percent of gross receipts in early 1973 to 47 percent last year.

Mr. Atkinson notes that farmers have been earning only 4 percent to 6 percent on their land investments after paying labor, machinery, and operating costs. The increase in land value itself, however, was 32 percent in Mr. Atkinson's home state of Indiana last year. Alongside such "fabulous" returns on farmland as an investment, a 6 percent return on farmland for production is "negligible," Mr. Atkinson observes.

The climb of farmland prices beyond its earning power for farming disturbs many agricultural economists. Former U.S. Agriculture Department economist chief Don Pearlberg finds it "unhealthy." "I see no way present land values can be justified, except the expectation they will continue to go up," he says.

"The concern comes from possibly lower corn prices for the '77 crop and for hog production, in terms of farmers being able to pay off their loans," says Mr. Atkinson.

Some signs that recent buyers of land are having a hard time paying for it have already begun to appear, the Chicago Federal Reserve Bank says.

# United States

Growing use — and growing controversy

## Some case histories of hypnosis by police

By Judith Frutkin  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Los Angeles  
For police in departments from Los Angeles to Washington, D.C., the controversial use of hypnosis is the latest criminal-investigation tool.

Among recent police investigations in which hypnosis played a key role:

— Choevilla, California, school bus kidnapping. Last July, the FBI called in William S. Kroger, an expert in medical hypnosis, to interrogate school bus driver Ed Ray. In an hypnotic trance, Mr. Ray recalled five digits of the license plate on the kidnappers' van — and on that basis, law enforcement officials were able to track down the suspects who are now awaiting trial in Alameda County, California.

— Veterans hospital poisoning. When patients at a Veterans Administration hospital in Ann Arbor, Michigan, were injected with apparently lethal doses of a powerful muscle-relaxant drug, the government hired an expert to hypnotize 14 patients in the search for suspects. One of the patients was an elderly gentleman who was interrogated by three FBI agents. Under hypnosis, he recalled seeing a black man and a Filipino nurse. Two weeks later he identified a nurse.

Partly on the basis of his identification, the nurse was charged with two counts of murder and nine counts of assault.

But during a preliminary hearing in a Detroit federal court on the admissibility of evidence obtained under hypnosis, a defense psychiatrist testified that his examination of the man's mental background indicated that two weeks before the identification had been made

the man had told hospital authorities that a group of 1,800 Filipino nurses was conspiring to overthrow the government. The nurse was found not guilty.

— Brink's robbery. In Boston several years ago, after a Brink's armored truck was held up for \$7 million, federal agents asked a psychiatrist to examine a witness who had seen the getaway car but could not give a description. Under hypnosis, the witness gave a complete license plate number. Concerned about whether the witness's information was correct, the psychiatrist asked the agents to corroborate the identity of the car — and the driver — from a second source before they made an arrest.

When the car was traced, it was found to belong to the president of a distinguished local university — who also had a solid alibi for his whereabouts on the evening in question.

To American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) officials and concerned forensic psychiatrists, these incidents illustrate a growing and troubling phenomena: trained police officers interrogating witnesses under hypnosis.

"Hypnotism," said Dr. Martin T. Orne, director of experimental psychiatry at the Institute of the Pennsylvania Hospital in Philadelphia, "can create a fantasy that becomes so real you live it. So real that when I tell you you're hungry, your stomach rumbles. So real the pain hurts. So real that when I tell you your arm isn't there it doesn't hurt if I cut it off. So real that you remember more than you normally do, but you also make memories when there are none."

"By the same token, if I hypnotize you and tell you it's 1980, and you're standing in Times Square, the suggestion is so real that you'll tell

me in great detail what's there," says Dr. Orne.

Like other psychiatrists concerned about this police technique, Dr. Orne says hypnotized witnesses are susceptible to creating visual descriptions that either never existed or — worse — reflect what the witness knows or believes police officials want to prove.

"What I'm saying," Dr. Orne says, "is that when you're using hypnosis as an investigative tool, you've got to be extremely careful not to contaminate a witness because you can create 'memories' as well as recover them. It's not a problem as long as you have physical evidence. And as long as you don't create an eye witness."

Other questions being raised about police use of hypnosis include:

— Should evidence gained during hypnosis be weighed without corroborating testimony or proof?

According to Dr. Martin Reiser, head of the Los Angeles Police Department Behavior Sciences Division and founder of a series of national seminars by the Law Enforcement Hypnosis Institute (LEHI) hypnotized witnesses are credible in court because more and more judges "are recognizing this field as a legitimate process of discovery."

— The question of protection of individual rights.

"We don't interrogate suspects with hypnosis," said Dr. Reiser. "We question witnesses and victims who voluntarily submit. Therefore, the issue of rights doesn't really come into play," he added.

Second of two articles.

## Young: third-world 'folk hero'

By Louise Sweeney  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young, the target of much diplomatic and media criticism, is called a "folk hero to the third world" and his work termed "one of the greatest benefits this country could ever have" by the incoming head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Benjamin Hooks, who will become NAACP executive director when he resigns as July as the Federal Communications Commission's only black commissioner, notes: "It's almost like the more hell he catches from the establishment, the media, the more of a hero he becomes to the third-world countries."

"I'm trying to separate Andy Young, the folk hero to the third world, from what it means to this country when this country is perceived as being friendly and concerned and aware to the 50, 60, 70, 80 third-world countries. That can't help but be one of the greatest benefits this country could ever have, and it's pitiful we're so shortsighted we can't see it," he says.

## The worst kept secret in town: the Cubans are already here

By James Nelson Goodsell  
Latin America correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
Although it has not been generally realized, Cuban Government officials have regularly been traveling to Washington for the past two years.

In fact, when Cuban diplomats begin arriving in Washington this summer as part of a limited diplomatic exchange with the United States, their way will have been mapped by other Cubans during two years of access to Washington from New York.

The Cubans who have been here have either been attached to the Cuban mission to the United Nations or have been members of the United Nations secretariat.

Ever since the U.S. extended the travel radius to 250 miles of New York in February,

1976, Cubans have regularly visited Washington.

In recent months, the number of visiting Cubans here, it is learned, has increased sharply. At least 20 visits have taken place this year.

"It is one of the best open secrets in Washington," comments a frequent partygoer who says that Cubans from either the Cuban UN mission or the UN secretariat have been at "half a dozen parties here in the past two months."

Some of the Cubans merely make a flying trip for some particular event, while others have lodged themselves in the Czechoslovak Embassy in Washington for days at a time to discuss business prospects with U.S. businessmen and meet with U.S. officials on various issues. (The Czechoslovak Embassy has been looking after Cuban interests in the U.S.)

One economic official was in Washington two weeks back in late April and early May,

conferring with what one source here said were "dozens of businessmen."

It is not lost on observers that, in a way, the Cubans have an edge on North Americans in this whole issue — for Cuban Government officials have had ready access to Washington for two years while U.S. officials have had no such access to Havana until the past two months.

Thus, in establishing "interests sections" in neutral embassies as part of a Cuba-U.S. rapprochement, the U.S. and Cuba are formalizing an arrangement that for the Cubans is nothing new.

The Cubans generally report to the Czechoslovak mission in Washington and often have let the Department of State know of their travel plans before coming. Once here, they are free to move about as any diplomat or foreign official.

Some of their meetings with businessmen take place in the Czechoslovak Embassy; others

are held over lunch or dinner; still others have reportedly taken place on Capitol Hill.

The State Department tends to downplay such visits, indicating that first of all there is nothing new to them, and secondly that the Cubans are generally quite circumspect in their visits.

Last week, it is noted several Cubans were down from New York to look at their proper ties here, in preparing for the development of the "interests section" concept. Likewise, a U.S. mission will go to Havana this week to look over U.S. properties in the Cuban capital, preparatory to the imminent assignment of U.S. diplomats to the Swiss Embassy in Cuba.

When established, the diplomats will work in the U.S. Embassy building on the waterfront in Havana under the Swiss flag. Just as Cubans will operate out of their old embassy building in Washington under the Czechoslovak flag.

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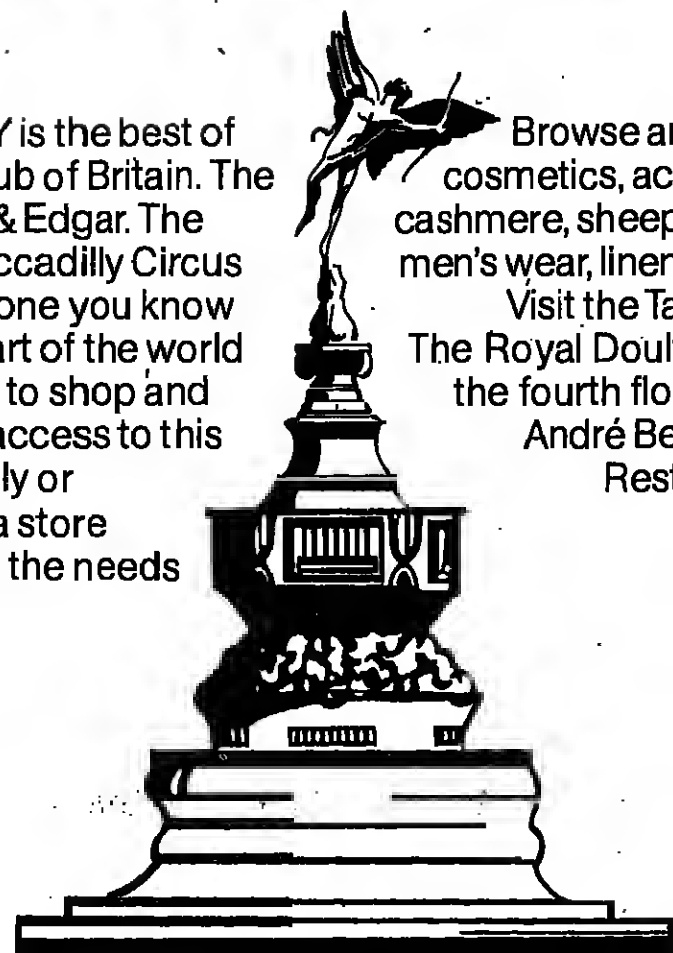
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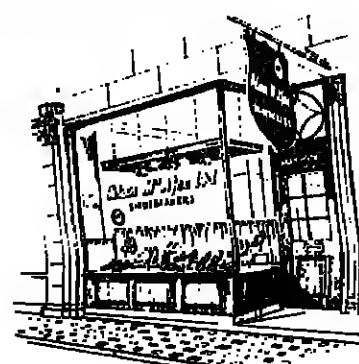
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## Asia

## Will S. Korea replace GIs with the bomb?

By Frederic A. Morla  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Will South Korea build nuclear weapons to help compensate for the withdrawal of American ground troops?

The question draws increased attention here and in Japan, underscoring the continuing uncertainty over whether President Carter will leave U.S. tactical nuclear weapons behind in South Korea or even order the use in Korea, if deemed necessary, of nuclear weapons based elsewhere in the Pacific.

The official position expressed by Foreign Minister Park Tong Jin is that South Korea has no present plans for nuclear armament. But another senior official pointedly hints that that policy could change, and some South Korean scientists are known to be urging their government to develop a nuclear military capability.

So far there is no evidence that the South Koreans are attempting to develop nuclear weapons, say diplomatic sources here. Most scientific work of a military nature is said to be directed to building the kinds of conventional arms and ammunition in which an American withdrawal would leave them lacking.

This country lacks the financial resources, trained manpower, and the technology to embark on a full-scale nuclear weapons research program, according to a diplomatic source here.

Nonetheless, attention has focused on two possible ways it could build nuclear weapons. One is through access to hijacked plutonium. The other is through reprocessing the waste from nuclear power plants under construction or on the drawing boards.

Acquisition by the South Koreans of hijacked plutonium — possibly of a small amount lost or stolen during shipment and made available on the black market — is one possibility causing concern in some Japanese circles. While there is apparently no hard evidence that this country has access to plutonium by such means, some intelligence sources do not rule out the possibility.

Still more attention focuses on the reprocessing of spent fuel from nuclear reactors. By 1988 the state-run Korea Electric Company is to have five such electricity-generating reactors. Construction on three has already begun. Westinghouse Electric Corporation and the General Electric Company of Britain

are building two of the three. The nuclear section of the third is being provided by Atomic Energy of Canada, Ltd.

Both the United States and Canada have tight control over the uses to which nuclear wastes from these reactors are put. If any attempt were made to reprocess the wastes, fuel for the reactors could be cut off, sharply damaging South Korea's high-priority effort to use nuclear power to reduce its dependence on foreign oil (fifty percent of the country's energy comes from oil, all of which is imported).

This is one reason why any proposal to develop nuclear weapons from reactor wastes is likely to draw strong opposition in South Korea. The cutoff of U.S. and Canadian nuclear, or other, assistance could severely damage the country's booming economy. This is not to mention the high technical and research costs of a nuclear weapons program.

Such a choice would be extremely difficult for President Park Chung Hee, whose claim to power rests heavily on his successful economic record.

Moreover, the South Koreans lack the technology to separate plutonium from nuclear reactor exhaust. Says one foreign diplomat, "Someone would have to teach them how, and there is no one to do it right now."

## Sri Lanka: a test for Mrs. Bandaranaike

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Colombo, Sri Lanka

With the critical Sri Lanka elections still a month away, there have been efforts to promote a new alliance between the ruling Freedom Party and its two former leftist coalition partners.

The logic behind such a move might at first seem difficult to grasp, given that the two leftist groups parted company with Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike's government in the not-too-distant past — and not under the most cordial of circumstances.

But, say observers, it is rooted in hard political facts: Mrs. Bandaranaike's party has never won a three-sided election and, as things now stand, it is facing a difficult test at the polls July 21 against two other opponents.

The two former partners, which helped the Freedom Party win power in the last election (1970), are the Trotskyite Lanka Sama Samajist Party (LSSP) and the Communists. The LSSP was dumped from the government in 1975 after a long-standing dispute with the Prime Minister, and the Communists were forced out late last February.

## Promotion of coalition

The promoter of the new coalition idea is Mrs. Bandaranaike's second-in-command, Land, Irrigation, and Power Minister Malthipala Senanayake.

Mr. Senanayake has thrown out broad hints at public meetings about the need for leftist-oriented parties to come together against "the common danger" — meaning the resurgent United National Party (UNP) led by veteran parliamentarian J. R. Jayewardene.

The UNP hopes to capture at least 100 seats of the 168 in the newly expanded National State Assembly (Parliament), and there are those who predict that it will win a landslide victory. The UNP, word has it, thinks it can count on the support of the Tamil Federal Party in the event it is asked to form a government. The Federal Party harbors no illusions about forming a government; all it wants is to win social equality for the Tamil community with the majority Sinhalese.

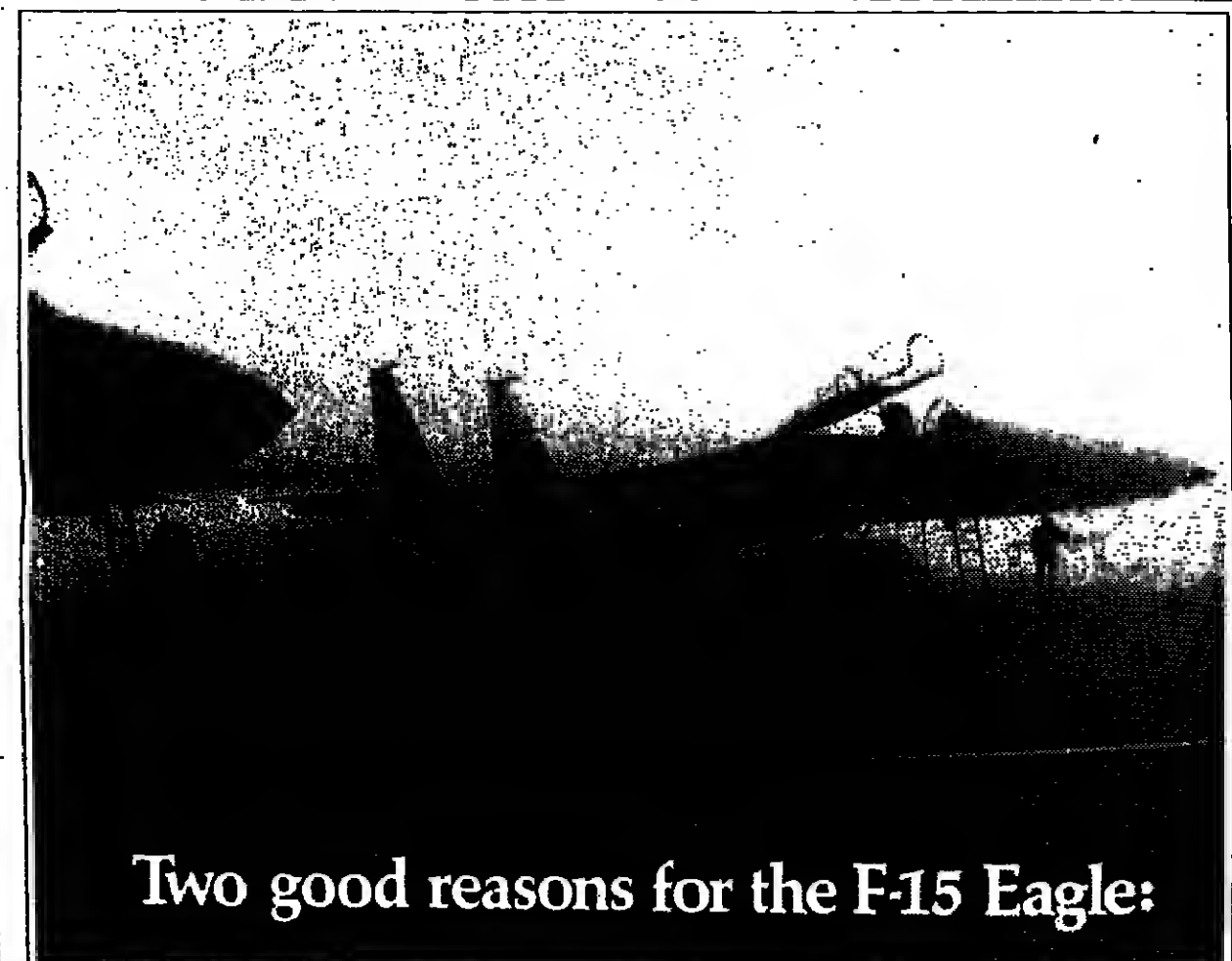
## Parties plan battle

If matters continue as they are, the UNP and the Freedom Party figure to battle it out for the top spot in the coming elections, with the LSSP and the Communists forming an alternative coalition. But, say political observers, Mrs. Bandaranaike is not confident of her party's prospects. Nor are the LSSP and the Communists; in fact, they stand to lose heavily at the polls if the voters recall their ineffectiveness as junior partners in the former ruling coalition.

For these reasons, it is said, the LSSP and the Communists might welcome a reunion with the Freedom Party. For its part, it is thought that the Freedom Party would settle for at least a pact with the other two not to contest the same seats, which would head off a split in the vote.

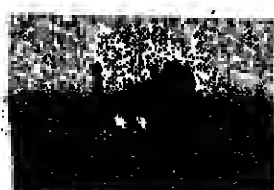
It is argued in some circles that the Freedom Party is betraying its own lack of confidence by appearing to welcome back the two parties it had only recently forced out of the government.

But others contend that it is risky to write off Mrs. Bandaranaike so early. To do so, they say, is to reckon without the voters in rural areas, where there still is solid support for her. To the rural people, her government is the instrument that nationalized the foreign-owned tea, rubber, and coconut estates and gave thousands of acres of land to those who had none. And it is her government that is taming the impetuous Mahaveli River to provide water for additional thousands of acres of parched rice paddies.



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## Asia

## Outrage in India

## Abuses of emergency rule

By Moban Ram  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

New Delhi

Much of India is in an uproar because of the uncovering of two apparent atrocities connected with the state of emergency that ended here only three months ago.

One is the death, allegedly by torture, of a left-wing student who had been taken into custody in March, 1976, and was held in a prison camp. The Government of Kerala State, after first denying that the student ever had been held, admitted his death when a local high court ordered that he be produced on a habeas corpus petition. The same court has ordered that some top police and former government officials be prosecuted for perjury.

The other is a report that as many as 77 Maoists claimed to have been killed in "encounters" with police in Andhra Pradesh State were, in fact, tortured and then shot as part of an effort to terrorize political dissenters. The killings were uncovered by an unofficial committee formed by Jayaprakash Narayan, the prominent political figure who was one of the driving forces behind the dramatic change in government here last March.

A protest is mounting in India against what are called "the crimes, the atrocities, and the excesses" of the emergency. A judicial inquiry already is under way into the death of the Kerala student, known only as Rajan. So far there has been no official concession to demands for a commission to look into the Andhra Pradesh incident, but a campaign is building for the release of thousands of Maoist — or Naxalite — political prisoners.

It is widely thought that such practices were taking place in India well before the emergency was imposed by former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in June, 1975. Some observers say the emergency only made these practices easier to commit and more immune from public scrutiny than they had been before.

Said the influential opinion journal Seminar, itself a casualty of the emergency for censorship reasons, "The overbearing, omnipresent apparatus of the state remains the same. When one group of . . . torturers is removed, another moves in ready to perform. . . . The torturer is merely a final expression of an unhealthy relationship. Protection is only in knowing the powerful."

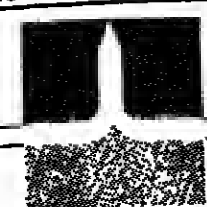
Since the press has regained its freedom to report on controversial subjects, instances of alleged torture and killings during the 20½-month emergency are filling up newspaper columns.

With press censorship in effect and the citizens' right of appeal to the courts for protection of their civil rights suspended, the Kerala student's father had to wait until after the emergency was lifted to seek a writ of habeas corpus.

The chief minister of Kerala at the time, who doubled as police minister, was a pro-Soviet Communist, and his party still is part of the coalition government there, along with Mrs. Gandhi's Congress Party. The Rajan incident is likely to provide the opposition Communist Party of India (Marxist), which claims to be ideologically neutral between the Soviet Union and China, with new ammunition to try to bring down that coalition. It says it has uncovered 420 cases of torture during the emergency.

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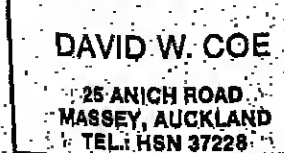


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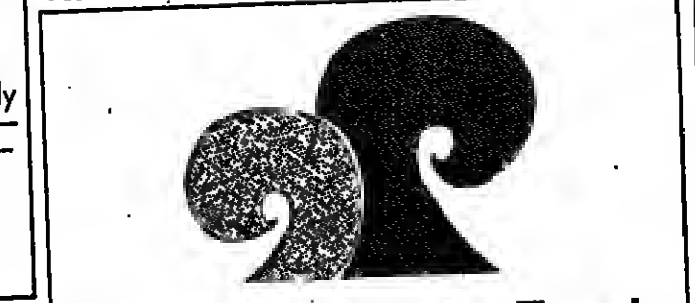


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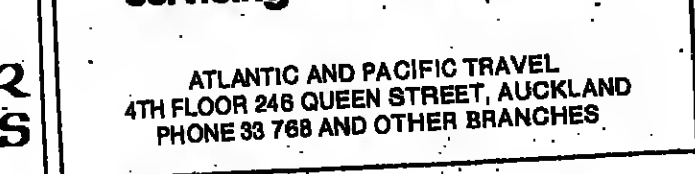


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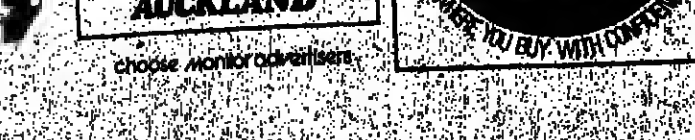
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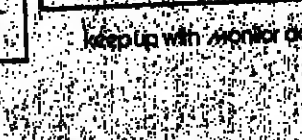
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# defense

## Soviets and U.S. strange allies on world nuclear limits

By Tokashi Oka  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

London  
Soviet and American interests, which clash in so many areas, coincide in one important field — the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons.

At the hush-hush Nuclear Suppliers Group, which meets two or three times a year here, the United States and the Soviet Union have often found themselves on the same side, their stands opposed or questioned in varying degree by Britain, France, West Germany or Japan.

The group, set up on American initiative in 1975, has been trying to establish guidelines for export of nuclear plans and technology. Its main objective is to prevent any possibility that the export of peaceful nuclear technology could lead to the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

The United States and the Soviet Union have the most stringent safeguards on nuclear exports. The United States has supplied many nu-

clear reactors, both for research and for electricity generation, around the world. But it keeps strict control over the export of enriched uranium to run the reactors.

The Soviet Union has sold few reactors outside the Eastern bloc. It has never sold uranium. It is willing to import uranium from other countries, enrich it, and return it for use only as fuel.

The most contentious issue within the group is the question of fast breeder reactors and reprocessing plants to extract plutonium to be used in these reactors from the spent uranium fuel consumed in conventional reactors. Fast breeders "breed" plutonium as well as consume it.

The United States, under President Carter's impetus, has temporarily slowed down fast breeder development and urges other countries to rely on conventional reactors using low-enriched uranium. This would limit the proliferation of plutonium, the principal material from which nuclear weapons are fashioned.

The Soviet Union continues developing its

own fast-breeder technology. But it agrees with the United States that there should be no export of reprocessing plants, such as that which France was planning to sell to Pakistan or that which West Germany has contracted to supply to Brazil.

The clear interest of the Soviet Union is that there should be no further members of the select nuclear weapons club.

But Britain, France, West Germany, and Japan, while sharing the American and Soviet interest in nonproliferation, see the use of fast-breeder technology for themselves as an important element in their overall energy strategy.

The Nuclear Suppliers Group has managed so far to reconcile these conflicting interests to the extent of coming up with a document at the beginning of 1976 pledging to exercise restraint in nuclear export policy. Since then the group has been enlarged from the original 7 members to 15, and has been reviewing the document.

The West Germans say the document is not

entirely and that it pledges restraint, not a total ban. They say that in their agreement to export a reprocessing plant to Brazil they have abided by both the letter and the spirit of the document.

The United States is not satisfied, but believes that its strong stand makes it unlikely that another reprocessing plant will be exported by any member of the NSG for years to come.

Within the Nuclear Suppliers Group, there is a movement to cast off the shroud of secrecy and to make its proceedings public. The secrecy has bred suspicion and resentment among potential customers of the group, such as Brazil, Argentina, or Iran. In fact, some observers see the emergence of a rival "Persopolis Club" that would be built around these countries and others which held a conference on the subject in Iran's ancient capital recently.

That is one reason Dr. David Owan, the British Foreign Secretary, advocates that the Nuclear Suppliers Group should be enlarged to include customers as well.

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# Middle East

## Colonel Qaddafi reports: Libya stockpiling arms

By John K. Cooley  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Libyan leader Muammar al-Qaddafi has clearly stated that Libya is stockpiling arms purchased from the Soviet Union, France, and elsewhere to serve as an arsenal for other Arab states in case of a new Arab-Israeli war.

In the full text of a June 2 speech at Ghadidbiyah, Libya, obtained here last week, Colonel Qaddafi contested Egyptian President Sadat's contention that "the United States holds 99 percent of the cards in the Arab-Israeli conflict." Colonel Qaddafi said only "pan-Arab" efforts could return Palestinian territory to the Palestinian Arabs.

However, in words intended clearly as conciliatory, Colonel Qaddafi said Libya expects "good" from President Carter "to alleviate antagonism between his people and the rest of the peoples of the earth... in view of his religious traits." The American people, he said, should "not support dictatorships, reactionary regimes, or regimes which oppressed their peoples."

Colonel Qaddafi's candid remarks about Libya's arms purchases as intended for use

against Israel, rather than against Arab neighbors — he said Libya would not answer Egyptian military "mobilization" on their border in kind — included a charge (often made against him by Egyptian President Sadat) that President Sadat is in fact mentally ill and "cannot be blamed for any act against us."

Colonel Qaddafi said Libya began arming itself following his Libyan 1969 revolution and "took the initiative of purchasing the first Mirage aircraft" from France. "We told the Arabs: If you say that the reason behind the 1967 defeat [by Israel] is [Israel's] Mirage aircraft, here now are Mirages in the hands of the Arabs."

Though Libya continues to reject the compromise with Israel sought by other Arab states, Colonel Qaddafi said, "What we are doing in developing our military and economic power is in fact strengthening the general negotiating position."

Colonel Qaddafi said, "No matter how well the Arab nation may arm itself, it will not constitute a danger to world peace, in view of the arsenal of nuclear arms and intercontinental ballistic missiles owned by a number of countries. We do have the sense to go on confidently arming our selves. We urge the Arab nation to arm itself."

## Israel: Begin's election promises hard to keep

By Francis Ofter  
Special correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Israel's new government under Prime Minister-designate Menahem Begin will probably take its oath of office when the Knesset (Parliament) reconvenes on June 20.

Mr. Begin's coalition will rest on a narrow majority of 61 out of 120 seats in the Knesset. This will provide a workable government, but the coalition will have to stretch every fiber of its strength to carry out the reforms it is committed to under its election platform.

This applies above all to economic affairs. The Liberal Party, the second largest in Mr. Begin's own Likud bloc, preaches boosting private initiative and curtailing the economic power of the Histadrut trade union federation.

Mr. Begin has promised the two religious parties which have joined his coalition concessions that will displace wide circles of the population. The concessions include: more stringent Sabbath rest laws; exempting women from military service without testing their objections on religious grounds; prohibition of autopsies without the consent of the families in-

involved; and tightening the rules for abortion. There will be popular opposition to many of these reforms, but resistance to the new economic program may come even from within the Likud's own ranks.

This is why the liberal wing of the Likud pressed so earnestly — but in vain — for the inclusion of Yigael Yadin's Democratic Movement for Change (DMC) in the Begin coalition. The DMC's 15 seats would have given the Likud government a broader base and a committed thrust toward comprehensive reforms.

So as not to make the break with Mr. Yadin and the DMC final, Mr. Begin has decided to leave three Cabinet portfolios vacant. Should the DMC later decide to join the Begin coalition, those Cabinet seats would be its.

The irony of it all is that the Begin-Yadin negotiations failed on the matter of foreign policy which Mr. Yadin himself has defined as being of secondary importance to the DMC. They want to see "change" in the internal structure of the state.

Nevertheless Mr. Yadin insisted on a "loosening" of the Begin hard-line policy on occupied Arab territories as embodied in the coalition's program.

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From page 1

## ★ Carter optimists

Adm. Stimson Turner, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, refers to the Soviet variety of communism as a "dying ideology" and argued in a Foreign Affairs magazine article before his appointment that "a doomsday picture" of growing Soviet naval strength presented by the U.S. military to the Congress "may negatively influence other nations' perceptions of our naval effectiveness."

In his writings, Mr. Carter's national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, sees the Soviet variety of communism as a conservative, bureaucratized, and fading doctrine which failed to live up to its promises.

Andrew Young, the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, believes that Americans shouldn't get "all paranoid" about communists. In economic competition, he told newsmen, "we do everything so much better" than the Soviets that there is nothing to fear. While Mr. Young often appears to be out of line with official policy, there is an optimism about his attitudes which is perfectly in tune with the rest of the Carter administration.

Mr. Carter himself has gone a long way to refute the more extreme interpretations of Soviet power, arguing that "we're still far stronger than they are in most means of measuring military strength." His remark to congressmen about some people getting nervous every time General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev sneezes seems to epitomize his attitude.

At its best, say Carter supporters, the new vision could lead to

1. A new foreign policy consensus on the part of the American public - and within the

Democratic Party - at a time when many Americans are deeply suspicious of those in power.

2. A tapping of a new generation of talent and a new outpouring of energy and ideas on the part of those charged with implementing foreign policy.

3. A self-assurance that would mean fewer "knee jerk" reactions to complicated situations and less of a tendency to leap to the support of any regime, no matter how unsavory, if it professes anticommunism.

At its worst, say skeptics, Mr. Carter's upbeat vision will create frustration over unfulfilled expectations and lead to a dangerous overconfidence, empty moralizing, and, as one diplomat put it, a "Naïve presumptuousness."

Not every expert agrees with the analysis which contrasts Kissinger's "pessimism" with Carter's "optimism." Prof. Stanley Hoffmann, the distinguished Harvard political scientist and former academic colleague of Dr. Kissinger, says: "I think Kissinger's pessimism was for afterdinner talk... when things were going badly, he used to fall into that line."

"No doubt the present team is slightly more gung-ho activist," said Professor Hoffmann. "They are quite determined to do things differently from Kissinger - but not because of a philosophical difference."

"It's less a matter of optimism and pessimism than it is a matter of getting Watergate and Vietnam behind us," said a State Department official who worked closely with Dr. Kissinger. "The pessimism of the Kissinger era

was colored by our domestic difficulties - now there's simply less breast beating going on."

In the meantime, it's too early to say how much of the Carter vision will amount to rhetoric and how much to real change. It is much easier at this stage to determine where the "new optimism" came from than where it will lead. For one thing, it has yet to be tested by an international crisis.

"One reason for the optimism is that there is no crisis," said William E. Colby, former director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

"I happen to think there are some terrible crises coming further down the road - in energy and in many other fields," he said. "But when there's no crisis, people are happy."

Another element creating a more positive tone in foreign affairs is simply the confidence which Mr. Carter derives from his astonishingly successful election campaign. He emerged from nowhere - from a poor, rural back corner of America - to become President of the United States.

"The notion of the possibility of political change is quite endemic to people like Carter," said Thomas L. Hughes, president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. "Look what they've done in getting elected."

Yet another, more nebulous influence is Mr. Carter's belief in the goodness of the American people and in the extension of their moral values to foreign policy. This has been a recurring theme in American foreign policy, reaching an extreme in Woodrow Wilson's crusade to make the world "safe for democracy."

(In his recent commencement address at Notre Dame University, in which he gave the fullest exposition to date of his new vision, Mr. Carter was careful, however, to set himself apart from the Wilsonian approach, rejecting its rigidity and recognizing the "limits of moral suasion.")

Then there is Mr. Carter's own background as a naval engineer, a problem solver, and a man of discipline and planning. In his recently published book, "The Presidential Character," James David Barber, chairman of the department of political science at Duke University, asserts that Mr. Carter has carried a technical faith in his ability to solve mechanical problems over to political blueprints and long-range strategy.

Possessing a technical background rare for a President, Mr. Carter chose as his Secretary of Defense a man who knows more about the technology of weapons than any other defense secretary in the nuclear era. A nuclear physicist, bomb designer, and expert on missiles, Harold Brown shares with Mr. Carter a calmer view of Soviet gains in the arms race than that of his predecessor at the Pentagon, Donald H. Rumsfeld.

While he is not a scientist or an engineer Zbigniew Brzezinski, the man who has had the most influence on the President's foreign policy views, shares a strong interest with Mr. Carter and Mr. Brown in technology - and, judging by his writings, he believes strongly in the possibilities of superior Western technology shaping a new world order.

From page 1

## ★ U.S. reporter in eye of human rights hurricane

tensive on a subject which has pre-empted attention all over the world.

Moscow and Belgrade are only two of many places where the politics of today swirl around questions of human rights.

On the island of Grenada in the eastern Caribbean the countries of the Organization of American States heard U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance repeat the human rights sentiments that some of them had been hearing individually from President Carter's wife on her recent trip through Latin America. Some of them are made uncomfortable by the fact that they do indeed deny many a basic human right to their own people.

In London human rights were deeply involved in the two subjects which most concerned the members of the Commonwealth assembled there for one of their summit con-

vocations. What, if anything, can be done about the reign of terror which dictator Idi Amin has loosed on the people of Uganda? There is no such thing as human rights in Uganda. There is only the whim of a tyrant.

But when whites talked about Mr. Amin at the Commonwealth conference blacks raised the question of white minority rule in Rhodesia, Namibia (South-West Africa) and South Africa. In Africa particularly, but in other places as well, human rights tend to get mixed up with race.

This is a new and different condition. True, communism is still used as an instrument in world politics. Whites in southern Africa apply the label of communism to black nationalism. They purport to see the hand of Moscow in every manifestation of black nationalism, just as J. Edgar Hoover used to see the hand of Mos-

cow behind the American civil-rights movement. But world politics no longer revolves around communism vs. anti-communism. The polarization of the world into Communist vs. anti-Communist governments is breaking up.

Moscow still uses the cause of "national liberation movements" as a weapon in power politics and it still has some effectiveness, more so than "communism," which seems to have lost its ability to rouse the enthusiasm of the younger generation. In Italy, communism has been hurt by the fact that local Communist governments have used the police to suppress student unrest. The Communist Party in Italy has gone bourgeois. Radical students are looking for a new religion.

The shift from communism to human rights as a central issue in world affairs has at least

so far been a gain for the Western democracies and a loss for Moscow. Moscow's obvious reluctance to honor human rights puts it on the defensive at home, inside the Warsaw Pact area, and generally everywhere. The Communist parties of Western Europe use human rights to distinguish themselves from Moscow communism.

In general, the Western democracies gain because by and large human rights are more frequently respected in them. Those who do not enjoy human rights tend to look to the Western democracies for help and inspiration, hardly to Moscow.

White minorities in Africa are among the losers. World opinion tends to judge them now more by their minority rule standards rather than by their anti-communism.

## ★ 'Summer snow' in Moscow

By David K. Willis  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow

It's June in Moscow. Time for snow.

"Summer snow" that is - so unusual, swirling phenomenon that flies through the air like the wintry white stuff. Someone seeing it for the first time rubs his eyes in disbelief.

When the wind gets up, clouds of white particles drift over streets and parks. They are the topic of endless conversation - most of it critical.

The feathery particles are actually seed carriers from a certain kind of prolific poplar tree here. From four to six weeks at the beginning of each summer, the Moscow air is filled with them. (The Russians call them pookh, which means down as in feathers.)

"They carpet the ground with whiteness, pile up in corners, stick to hats and coats, penetrate cars, blow through open windows and doors, and into noses, ears, and mouths."

"I like it, except when it tickles," says one small girl. "I don't like it at all," said a man waving his arms around his head.

"It makes me sneeze." "We didn't have this problem 15 years ago," said another Muscovite. "When they planted the poplars, nothing happened right away. But when the trees matured - look at what happened!"

Soviet authorities recognize the complaints. They have banned the tree from all new housing developments and new cities and towns.

One rumor around Moscow is that the first few trees came from Turkey, and that pookh is the Turks' revenge. (Turks and Russians are centuries-old foes.) Another theory is that, since most of the trees were planted during the Stalin years, pookh is not the Turks' revenge at all, but Stalin's.

The trees grow very fast. They shed an amazing number of particles. A heavy rain cuts down on the number - but the air has been thick with whiteness for several weeks now.

Children love it. Adults are not so keen.

## Do pigeons smell their way home?

By Ward Morehouse III  
Staff writer of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Armed with pencils and binoculars, scientists from the United States and Italy will soon try to settle once and for all whether pigeons - to some degree - fly by their noses.

Teams of pigeon navigation experts from Rhaca, New York, and Pisa, Italy, have been pecking at each other over this issue for the last three years.

Professor William T. Keeton of Cornell University says he has had no luck proving the Italians' theory pigeons can, in part, smell their way home.

Of course, Dr. Keeton had not tried Italian pigeons, observers note.

But now Floriano Papi, pigeon navigation ex-

pert and professor at the University of Pisa, has brought his birds to Rhaca, with the federal government helping to foot his travel bill. Dr. Papi hopes his lean pigeons will react to the odors of Rhaca as much as those of Italy.

Massachusetts pigeon navigation expert Michael P. Bookman theorizes the Rhaca pigeon match might help prove whether polluting fumes in the atmosphere can be "destructive" to birds as opposed to the common conception of being "attractive."

No one knows for sure what enables some homing pigeons to navigate as many as 800 nonstop miles per day and return home. Experts think the birds use a flock of "environmental clues," such as their position in relation to the sun and stars, to navigate. Some scientists also feel the earth's magnetic field helps in navigation.

According to Dr. Keeton, one advantage for man in finding out more about pigeon navigation tools is that these tools hint at man's own potential to navigate without instruments. Although scientists feel man's navigational instincts are far inferior to those of animals, the experts also say man is much more capable of reading environmental clues than commonly thought.

The Italians say "smelling" is one of the major factors in pigeon navigation, Dr. Keeton told the Monitor. "My experiments about this have all shown negative results."

The big question Dr. Keeton asks is: "Why do they get positive results in Italy, and we get negative results in New York?"

Mr. Bookman, who did his master's thesis at MIT "On the Sensitivity of Homing Pigeons to the Earth's Magnetic Field," believes Pisa pi-



geons may be surrounded by "very interesting odors" which they have incorporated into their "navigational scheme."

Mr. Bookman surmises that perhaps "smell does not change that much around Rhaca."

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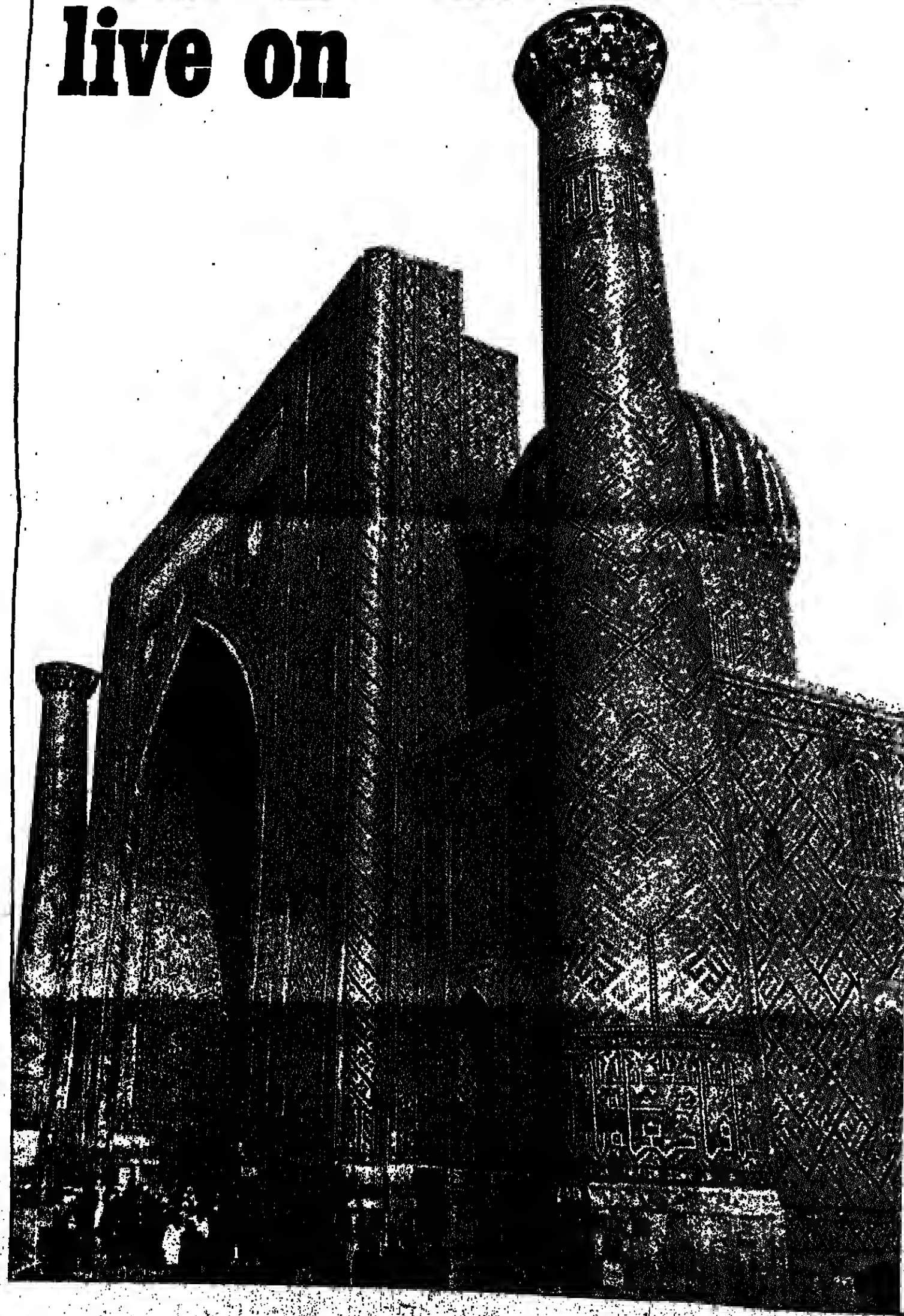
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## SOVIET ASIA:

# Where the ARABIAN NIGHTS live on



THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Monday, June 20, 1977

Central Asia, invaded by the Great and Genghis Khan, little-known part of the Soviet Union. Once criss-crossed by trade caravans from China and India, it is dotted today with canals and natural gas fields. It could become a showcase for Soviet achievement.

By David K. Willis

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Samarkand, Soviet Central Asia

The scenea spring from a picture book of the Arabian Nights:

Threading between the stalls of the Samarkand market comes an elderly man with a faded turban, and a long, striped, patterned robe, perched on a huge and dilapidated saddle secured back of a tiny donkey. The donkey takes minutes to keep its balance.

The swashbuckling figure of another Uzbek sweeps by, green padded coat flapping like a jodhpur-like trousers tucked into black knee-high boots.

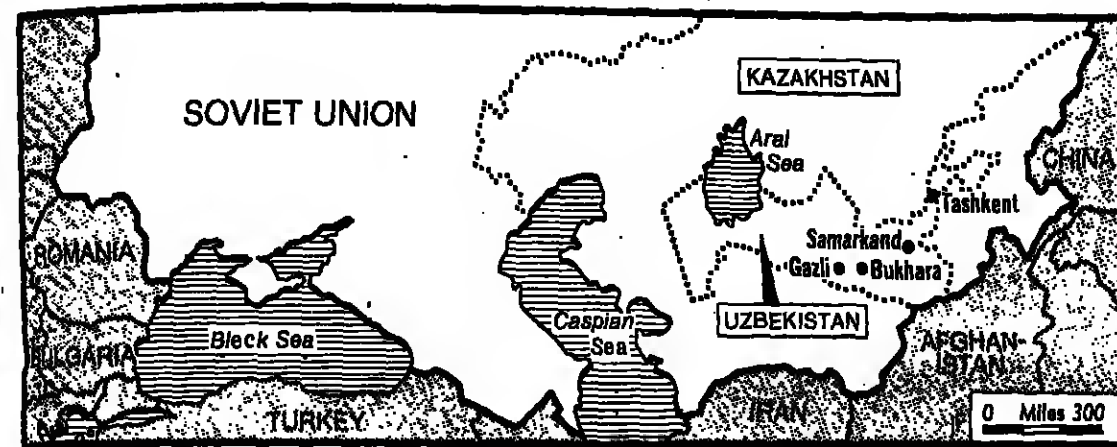
Women in black shawls hold out coins to a samsa seller: the aroma of the meat-dough roasted floats into the morning air as the sun strikes the unearthly blue ruin of the Tamerlane mausoleum.

Across the market square, past a huge mausoleum and a cluster of stalls selling ornamental bolts of cloth, men sit crosslegged, heads bowed in pale-brown ice. They pause only to pick green bunches scattered in front of them or to eat pieces from the flat, circular loaves of bread made in this region for centuries.

## Reminder of 2,500-year history

The market is one of the great sights of Samarkand, a vivid reminder of 2,500 years of history, when the silk caravans from China gathered to the bazaars of Europe. The streets of the market are as narrow and winding as when his grandson, the ruler-poet-astrologer astronomer Ulug Beg, began measuring the world with remarkable accuracy in the early 15th-century observatory whose ruins still survive.

But hot and dusty Central Asia — and Kazakhstan — today plays a very different role in the world — end in the growth of the Soviet Union now rules it.



This is a vast region: including Kazakhstan, it is about as big as Western Europe from Lisbon to Bucharest, from Copenhagen to Corsica; Uzbekistan alone is larger than all of Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Austria — and it has vast resources.

When most people think of the Soviet Union, they envision the Western, European, region (Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Riga, Tallinn), or Siberia to the east.

Yet Soviet Central Asia — the Uzbek, Turkmen, Tadzhik, and Kirghiz republics that adjoin Iran, Afghanistan, and China — is more and more important for four main reasons:

— People. Population is growing four to five times faster here than in the rest of the country. By 1980 the growth could be six times as fast. Analysts in Washington see problems for the Moscow-dominated Slavs as Central Asia grows, providing not only more and more young people, but more recruits for the Soviet Army. About one-third of all 18-year-olds will live in the non-Slav "southern tier" by 1980, according to a recent congressional study.

— Water. Canals criss-cross the desert as the Soviet Government has pursued the dream of centuries by irrigating huge areas. Forty-nine new farms have sprung up in the "Hungry Steppe" region, where once nothing grew. The drivers of cotton harvesting machines (which look like giant cages on wheels) earn up to 500 rubles (875) a month at the peak of the season. Uzbekistan alone harvested 5.3 million tons of cotton last year, more than 60 percent of the national total.

But so much water is being diverted to irrigation from the two big rivers which feed the Aral Sea that scientists are urging the diversion of two more rivers before the sea sinks even lower, endangering fish and the ecology of the area.

— Energy. An hour and a half from Bukhara by car lies the grimy natural gas center of Gazli, which is still recovering from major earthquakes (7.0 and 7.3 on the Richter scale) last year.

Gazli's plants have pumped more natural gas from the ground than any other field in the country so far. Workers earn bonuses worth up to 80 percent of basic salary to come here and live in tiny cabins set in treeless rows,

in temperatures that reach 130 degrees F. in summer.

Gas lines fan out to the Urals and to Tashkent, and soon will reach to the European zone. Central Asia as a whole will contribute about 20 percent of the average annual increase in natural gas production by 1980. Westerners estimate (though greater long-term potential lies in western Siberia). Gas from Gazli also flows to Eastern and Western Europe, helping to win Moscow dividends in diplomacy and hard cash.

— Public relations. Moscow is very conscious that Central Asia, where more than 100 nationalities live, is a test of its ability to turn formerly backward lands into modern outposts of the Soviet empire. Officials in Samarkand, Tashkent, Bukhara, and elsewhere like to think of their area as a showcase for the rest of Central Asia. Their birthrates and literacy are higher than, say, in Afghanistan, they point out.

Foreign delegations tour Tashkent and its huge Lenin Museum, its miles of apartment blocks rebuilt after the 1966 earthquake, its textile factories, and its 145 million ruble (\$195 million) subway line under construction.

## A Muslim center

The region also is a traditional center for Muslims. Moscow's position is that freedom of worship is guaranteed. Visitors to Tashkent are taken to see the white-turbaned chairman of the Muslim Religious Board for Central Asia, the Mufti Ziyaddin Khan Abn Isahn Baba-khan.

A dignified man in a black robe and a blue shirt buttoned at the neck, the Mufti insists that the Muslim religion is growing. He is short of statistics, though. He admits that he includes every child born to a family with Muslim connection, whether the parents (or, later, the child itself) attends mosque. He estimates as many as 30 million Muslims live in the Soviet Union but says the figure comes from Kuwait and Jordanian sources.

Undoubtedly the Muslim religion is still practiced. Westerners suspect it is declining, nonetheless. Only one madrasah (religious teaching college) remains in Tashkent. One more is in Bukhara. The Koran was last published in 1972, in Arabic. Defensively, the Mufti says that even mosques in Cairo go unfilled in these secular days.

Meanwhile, rising birthrates here present a number of problems to the rulers in Moscow.

On the one hand, women here (as elsewhere) are encouraged to keep having children. In 1974 the "Glory of Motherhood" order was introduced, complete with a "Motherhood Medal," for women with 10 children or more. The state pays 12 rubles (\$16.70) per month per child; 120 rubles a month is a lot more than such a family would earn in a month.

A Tashkent city official told visitors recently that "hero mothers," as they are called, are also eligible for free rent in Uzbekistan, discounts on a car, and free vacations in resorts and rest homes. By 1980, Central Asia's response will be so great that its natural population increase will be 30.3 per 1,000. In the Russian Federation, it will probably be only 6.5 per thousand.

## Imbalance promoted

Yet this leads to imbalances. Central Asians by and large stay close to home. They also tend to stay in rural areas, where local customs, traditions, and outlooks are strongest. Great Russians who come here generally live in the cities, where the levers of power are located.

While the rest of the country faces the prospect of a labor force expanding at a smaller rate for the rest of the century (which helps explain the stress today on raising the efficiency of each worker nationwide), Moscow may be tempted to offer incentives to non-Slavs to migrate to other regions.

It must also cope with a situation in which, to maintain the current armed forces strength of just over 4 million, more and more non-Slavs will have to be recruited — with as yet unknown implications for effectiveness and discipline.

Problems also lie ahead for the massive and so far successful irrigation campaign. Today achievements are prodigious. On the reclaimed portions of the Hungry Steppe alone, officials say 3,300 miles of canals have been dug. Another 8,100 miles of pipe drain off salted water.

The state museum in Tashkent displays not only machinery and photographs but also samples of the out-sized fruit and vegetables all this has made possible. Officials from Washington have praised the work.

For now, the market at Samarkand overflows with the melons and the meat of the newly fertile lands.

Modern-day travelers span the Soviet land mass in jets that land at Tashkent en route from Bangkok to Copenhagen; the jets are the modern versions of the caravans of the ancient silk road. Moscow is allocating a good deal of money to restore monuments, mosques, and mausoleums in Khiva, in Bukhara, and in Samarkand itself.

The present crowds in on the past. Yet the market, with all its bustle, remains one of the unforgettable memories. So does a nighttime stroll through the city, when the moon shone from a black velvet sky, touching the domes of the madrasahs in the 14th-century Registan Square as it did when Tamerlane ruled and the name of Samarkand was fabled in the world.



Spinning good public relations

Photos by David K. Willis

Ruins of 15th-century blue-tiled mausoleum



Samarkand student; non-Slavic U.S.S.R. on rise



Black-robed Muslim Mufti of Central Asia with his deputy in Tashkent

Textile factory

Samarkand's Registan Square







## people

## Novelist Eudora Welty talks about writing

By Louise Sweeney  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
Eudora Welty, who won a Pulitzer prize for one of her Deep South novels, is a member of the National Council on the Arts. She is one of 26 members of the council, which advises the federal cultural agency, the National Endowment for the Arts. During a recent council meeting in the Capitol, Miss Welty broke off a chunk of time to be interviewed on the art of being Eudora Welty.

She is tentative as the first reintroduction, this white-haired woman who has been writing since she was 25, and gentle. At first you see a grandmotherly looking woman in a vanilla garb, then she begins talking, and you just see the eyes—large, luminous, blue, child's eyes that fill her face with quiet wonder. She has long arms and long, elegant legs, and she settles back in the brown hotel chair, talking as comfortably as if you were sipping lemonade on her front porch.

She talks of how she conceives of a novel: "I see it whole, just as if it were a seed, you know, which contained the whole of it in there. Of course, in the writing, when I develop it, it's like doing it from the beginning, but you do know the whole and every part. You know the whole exists in every part. . . . I don't begin a story until usually there's been a long buildup in my mind of a personal situation of some kind, which I don't use in my fiction except in a translated form. But when I think of form is when I begin to write, when I think of a way that I can express these things in objective terms. 'Not that it's not autobiographical. That's the time when I begin to work. To write. And then it absorbs me. . . . It's almost a total absorption into something else.'"

## As planned

She says the novel that is most like her original vision of it is "The Optimist's Daughter," for which she won a Pulitzer prize in 1973. On

its way to being a "long short story" it ended up as a novel. "In the writing it grew deeper to me, so that I was able to plumb it more than I had realized." She says she wrote it twice, as opposed to rewriting it in many drafts, and she makes a telling comment on the novel vs. the short story:

"You have to take a deeper breath, wind up more for a novel when you realize you have more space and time to expand in, you don't have to keep everything as wire-tight as you do in a short story. In fact you must not, you must make some dips." At this point in the interview, Miss Welty apologizes softly for going into detail: "I don't know how to answer any way except the real thing," she says with a hesitant smile.

Eudora Welty has been called the grand dame of Southern letters for her novels, "Losing Battles," "The Ponder Heart," "The Golden Apples," and collections of short stories that have won her a Guggenheim and membership in the National Academy of Arts and Letters. She is rooted as deeply as any chinaberry tree in the soil of Jackson, Mississippi, where she was born when the century was young, and where she still lives.

## A sense of place

"I grew up with that sense of place, which has been a great help to me, and a guide and a sort of bystander and critic to my work," she says. Does she believe, then, that roots are important to a writer—or possible—in our volatile, restless society? "If you are on the move in your life, which all life is getting to be, then it would be artificial to say you're guided by something that you're not guided by. But in that case something will take its place, maybe a personal sense of belonging somewhere . . . or you would belong to, the unity would be a family. But you know, it doesn't have to be physical. . . . It could be a matter of outlook on life or response to certain things in life," she answers.

Among the certain things that please Miss Welty are the works of Woody Allen, S. J. Perelman, and Chekov, about whom she's being

lecturing on college campuses and writing for the last several months. She has in her own phrase "shifted gears" often in her life between journalism and fiction, with patches of lecturing. At one point she took 10 years off between novels. Currently she is wrapping up two books, one of short stories, the other of essays done over the years on assignment for national magazines. When she is off on the lecture trail, she says of her fiction: "I just put it in a box and shut it up. You know, like a bad child: 'Just stay there, and I'll tend to you when I get home.'"

## Not a feminist

This eminently successful woman writer doesn't think of herself in feminist terms, far from it: "I can certainly tell the difference be-

tween a man's work and a woman's. And I certainly am a woman. And I write as one. . . . I do not make any distinction in my thinking when you write about character in fiction, the great leap is into another mind, whether it's a different sex or a different color or a different time. . . . I don't think it's the main exciting thing, which is to make the jump at all. . . . And I feel that all writers of fiction do whether they are men or women. . . . I really quite daring to write fiction. . . . I think so? It's a feat. And so I don't feel for a woman to do it is any different than a man to do it. I think it's both. I don't know how we do it."

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By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

## Whale conference bound to rock a few boats

By Douglas Starr  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Boston  
The International Whaling Commission is in its 14th meeting, in Canberra, Australia. . . .

But the connection goes deeper. The U.S. State Department reports that Japanese whaling interests own 85 percent of Peru's single whaling station. Observers say Japan also buys from and helps direct the controversial whaling ship, Sierra. This combination factory ship-catcher boat plies the waters off the Ivory Coast, taking sei and Bryde's whales without regard to international regulations. An old Norwegian whaler, manned by a Norwegian, South African and Japanese crew the Sierra is nominally owned by a bank in Lichtenstein and flies a Somali flag.

"It has been impossible to determine its real ownership," says John Twiss, executive director of the U.S. Marine Mammal Commission. The vessel reportedly sells whale meat to Japan labeled "Product of Spain."

Last year the United States urged an international boycott of whale products from non-IWC nations. Delegates will push for it once again. Domestically, the U.S. Department of Commerce is considering an American boycott—an embargo against fish products from the renegade nations, permissible under the 1972 Fishermen's Protective Act. Commerce Department sources say the two nations most seriously considered for the boycott include South Korea and Peru.

Hot debate will arise at the meeting over the new 200-mile limit enacted by the United States, Canada, and other nations. Each year Japan and Russia take more than 400 sperm whales within 200 miles of the American coast. The practice will virtually cease under the new limit.

According to Craig Van Note of the Rare Animal Relief Effort (RARE), anti-whalers will sponsor educational exhibits in Canberra this weekend and demonstrations throughout the week. Protests will occur in several cities, including Washington, Ottawa, Toronto, Los Angeles and London. In Paris an inflated whale will float over an anti-whaling parade. Anti-

whaling forces vow to continue their boycott of Russian and Japanese goods, a move officials say puts considerable pressure on nations to stop whaling.

The decade from 1960 to 1970 saw more whales killed than any other decade in history—more than 41,000 in 1961 alone. In contrast, only 28,581 were killed in 1975. In one success story, the gray whale population nearly doubled since it became completely protected in the mid-1930's.

But researchers fear that it may be too late to save other, more endangered whales. "Normal populations increase at best at a rate of four to five percent per year," says Dr. Douglas C. Chapman, the noted marine mammalogist who chaired the IWC Scientific Committee for eight years and was a member of it for 15. "We'll need at least 10 years to see if there's been any increase."

Extinction still looms for the blue, humpback, right and bowhead whales, according to Dr. Chapman. Protected since 1935, the slow, bulky right whale may have lost its habitat to the smaller minke and sei whales after years of overhunting. The blue and humpback have only been protected for eleven years; their future is hard to predict. But, says Dr. Chapman, neither the right nor the bowhead "show any signs of recovery."

The bowhead—probably the world's most endangered whale—is still killed in the United States, despite an international ban. Under a provision in the U.S. Marine Mammals Protection Act, Eskimos may take an unrestricted catch to preserve the traditional hunt, killing perhaps 100 whales per year. "But bowheads are at such a low level that even a small kill may be too much," Dr. Chapman warns. He notes that U.S. officials may soon decide to put tighter restrictions on the Eskimos' bowhead hunt.

Veteran anti-whaler Tom Garrett says the bowhead issue and the American tuna industry's continued porpoise kill "will cripple us" at this year's IWC conference. "We'll go down there in our white hats and they'll say, 'You're the worst bunch of hypocrites we ever saw.' You call this a native hunt? They hunt the bowheads with motorboats and grenade launchers. I predict a very rough meeting this year."

Whether in response to anti-whaling pressure or because there are no longer enough whales to profitably catch, the whaling industry is clearly declining. Forty-one factory fleets operated during whaling's heyday in the 1930s. Now there are just four, two from Russia and two from Japan.

"Neither country is putting much money into its whaling fleets," adds RARE's Craig Van Note. "They're keeping them at minimal repair level."

Last year Japan's six major whaling firms consolidated their operations into one Joint Japan Whaling Company. Employment rosters fell from 3,000 to 1,500. In August the Soviet charged d'Affaires in Ottawa announced that his nation expected to end whaling in a couple of years. The Soviet Ministry of Fisheries subsequently denied the statement. Yet, whaling persists.

What, then, can finally save the whales? Research, maybe. Botanists find the oil of the desert jojoba plant a perfect substitute for sperm whale oil. Most jojoba oil in the United States is produced by Apache at the San Carlos reservation in Arizona. The National Academy of Sciences recommends setting up a 50,000-acre plantation there. Japan already buys four to five tons of the oil per year.

Quicker answers may lie in replacing the industry-oriented IWC. In 1973 the United States sponsored a move to replace the IWC with a more conservation-minded International Cetacean Commission (ICC). Spain is all states whose nationals have an interest in cetaceans (marine mammals). Delegates say they will push for an ICC again this year.

To some, however, the only hope for the whales lies in the end of the whaling industry itself. "The industry is declining," says Craig Van Note of the Rare Animal Relief Effort. "It's just a few years—a race between the whales and when the whaling industry dies."

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The elements, if they existed, would have had 118, 124, 126, and 127 times as many protons as ordinary hydrogen. The heaviest elements found naturally on earth are uranium (92 protons) and plutonium (94 protons).

Virtually all man-made elements with more than 100 protons are unstable. The heaviest yet reported, element 107, decays in milliseconds. Yet theory predicts that nuclei with proton numbers 110 to 114 and 127 might be relatively stable, although not stable enough to have lasted since Earth was formed.

Now that naturally occurring super-elements have been discounted even by their "discoverers," there is no need to try to revise this theory and Glorioso can indeed breathe easier about his mad bombs.

On the other hand, nuclear physics has been enriched by a fresh look at basic theory and by more refined techniques for analyzing small amounts of material. It seems that even a "discovery" that didn't pan out has been a good thing all around.

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lier results were misinterpreted and now they, too, throw in the sponge.



# home

Pierre Cardin furniture

## From the man who designed the shirt on your back . . .

By Marilyn Hoffman  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

New York

Pierre Cardin, a leading Paris designer, and Angelo Donghia, a well-known New York designer, have each put their illustrious stamp on an excellent collection of medium-priced home furnishings. Each designer, through his own unique way of looking at the world, is giving us a new way to look at home.

Mr. Cardin has distinguished himself in the Paris haute couture, the French ready-to-wear market, and as a designer of menswear. He has also developed perfume, and designed bicycles and automobiles. For 10 years he has been actively engaged in home furnishings design, as well.

Again, Mr. Cardin's designs bring "haute decor" within reach of thousands in a collection that is distinctly "French modern" in feeling, drawing heavily on Art Deco geometrics and on mauve and gray and brown colorations. Mr. Cardin's initials and signature are omnipresent for those who value such a symbol.

The entire package has a sleek sophistication. Mr. Cardin claims all the lines are classic and simple, yet, in the aggregate, they might require some living up to. His collection does manage to show the natural alliance between contemporary fashion and furnishings.

Mr. Donghia's group of 200 designs for Kroehler probably scored the most resounding success.

Mr. Donghia, as a custom designer, decorator, and entrepreneur, has long worked at the high end of the market, all the while defining his own look and direction. Five years ago he



Pierre Cardin brings his own strong geometric design to living room furniture

designed a Domestic line for J. P. Stevens and his new collection for Kroehler marks his initial affiliation with a major furniture manufacturer.

Mr. Donghia was delighted with the new challenge. He said, "I'm finally going to have a chance to prove what I have contended for years — that mass-produced products can have the

same style, fashion flair, and design integrity as was formerly applied to custom designs for the affluent."

His designs are frankly but refreshingly derivative. He incorporates a little Art Deco, a little Brighton Pavilion, a suggestion of Chippendale and Georgian, a generous dip of 1940s chic engendered by perusal of Vogue magazines of the period.

## How to be a cooking diplomat when in-laws come to dine

By Jann Baer  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

When your in-laws come for dinner, a conflict of interests often develops. You want to show off with a gourmet meal that will prove to Mom and Dad what a wonderful, competent girl their son married. At the same time your husband's parents, like your own, often come complete with food tastes firmly set.

Once when I offered to my in-laws a trip that had taken 24 hours of slow cooking, my father-in-law turned up his nose and announced, "I don't eat things like that — just make me scrambled eggs."

Now after seven years of trying to please, impress, and provide meals for my in-laws that they would like to eat and that I would enjoy making, I have learned a few basic rules.

1. Do your standing over a hot stove ahead of time. Don't try anything that requires much last-minute cooking if you want to appear as if you whipped it up in minutes.

2. If you know your in-laws have food restrictions, obey them. Avoid foods that are too salty, rich, or that would seem unfamiliar or "peculiar."

3. Make things look pretty. Often in-laws don't care so much what they eat. They do care that you spend time making a dish that looks elegant.

My father-in-law always says with a pleased smile, "This must have taken you hours." It is rarely true, but I always take the time to dust off the best china and use it, and to accessorize with lots of little touches like watercress, olives, and daintily cut lemon slices.

4. If they praise you, be modest. Mom still likes to think she scored higher than you in the culinary sweepstakes. For instance, if you serve fish as the main course, try a sentence like "Mom, it was that wonderful poschad salmon of yours that made me decide to have fish more often," or "It doesn't compare to your fish cakes."

5. After they leave, do not ask your husband, "Do you think I'm a better cook than your mother?"

If your in-laws are anything like mine, they essentially like simple foods, that look attractive. Individual Cornish hens, without a wild rice dressing, just stuffed with an onion and roasted, make a nice main course. Or try fish

in almost any form. I use the following recipes when my in-laws come to dinner. Almost anyone likes raw vegetables as an hors d'oeuvre. Hot sea bass can be served with any simple hot green vegetable. Stuffed tomatoes are a showstopper and you have a hot meal. Cold poached red snapper mixed well with cucumbers and sour cream. Just add cold boiled potatoes with a vinaigrette sauce and you have a lovely cold meal.

### Cauliflower Antipasto

1 small head raw cauliflower  
1 green pepper cut into 1/2 inch strips  
1 cup carrots cut into 1/2 inch pieces  
1/2 cup sliced mushrooms  
1/2 cup sliced celery  
1/2 cup sliced stuffed green olives  
1/2 cup vinegar  
1/2 cup olive oil  
1/4 cup fresh lemon juice  
2 tablespoons sugar  
1 teaspoon salt  
1/2 teaspoon basil  
1/4 cup water

Break cauliflower into florets and slice. Add with remaining ingredients to large skillet and

bring to boil. Reduce heat and simmer covered for 5 minutes. Cool and refrigerate overnight. Drain before serving and arrange on platter. Serves six.

### Best Sea Bass

1 sea bass, about 5 pounds  
2 medium onions, thinly sliced  
1 green pepper, seeded and sliced  
4 tomatoes, thinly sliced  
1/2 cup chopped parsley  
Butter  
1 1/2 teaspoons salt  
1/2 teaspoon pepper  
1 lemon (thinly sliced)

Stuff the fish with alternating layers of the sliced vegetables, dotting each layer with butter and sprinkling with chopped parsley. Sewer if you wish. This can be done ahead of time. When ready to bake, butter the fish, salt and pepper it, and place on piece of buttered foil in a baking pan. Bake in a 450 degree oven for 30 to 35 minutes. If you use two 2 1/2 pound bass, reduce baking time to 25 minutes. Decorate with lemon slices and watercress. Makes five to six servings.

## Measuring the quality of family life

By Eloise Taylor Lee  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

James N. Miller, executive director of the Family Service Association of Indianapolis, has sent me a list of 10 questions that agency uses to measure the quality of family life:

1. Are you more comfortable at home than any other place you can think of?

2. Can you think of something that you enjoy doing alone with each member of the family?

3. Do you feel that your children understand your ethical, political, religious, economic, and social values?

4. Does your family show you appreciation and affection as much as you think they should?

5. Is it easy for you to talk openly and directly with all members of your family?

6. Are you glad you got married?

7. Are you glad you have children?

8. Can you usually count on each family member to do what they've agreed to do?

9. Are you fairly satisfied

with the way your family uses money?

10. Do you think that you will be happy living with your husband — or wife — when you are old?

If you answered "yes" to all 10 questions, feel thankful! Eight or nine "yes" answers suggest your family probably has enough strength to handle its problems successfully. Five to seven mean that family life is still on the "plus" side for you. You may need to work a little harder to keep the lines of communication open.

One way to make contact

with the way your family uses such a check list might be to ask the help of all family members in systematically working to change "no" to "yes" answers.

For example, if several family members answered "no" to question No. 1 (or if their prolonged absences from home suggest that their answer might have been "no"), pursue this with the further question "why?" Disorder, confusion, unhappiness, boredom, too much conflict can, after all, be corrected once the need has been pinpointed.

The real test on question

No. 2 is not what you said so much as what you do. Last week, for example, did you do something alone with each member of your family? Or did you let every other demand take priority over this kind of opportunity?

Question No. 3 implies many subquestions, such as: Do I myself understand my ethical, political, religious, economic, and social values? Thank you, Mr. Miller, for sending the list. I share it with readers, hoping that they, too, will dig for many levels of meaning in the questions.

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# travel

The tourists come back to Portugal

## Record bookings crowd the beaches, jam the hotels

By Helen Gibson  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Lisbon after three years of a near-disaster for its tourist industry, has bounced back this season to such a degree the Portuguese have begged to keep away from their own resorts.

Over the deserted beaches and hotels of 1974, 1975, and even of the peaceful 1976 season, has given way to a Portugal's southern Algarve this year have too many tourists to cope with.

Apparently, hotel owners, who have taken losses since the beginning of the April revolution, anticipated this summer with overbookings. They still are concerned with labor disputes in the communist-controlled hotel workers' unions will cause jittery stage-four operators to cancel at the last minute. In some localities there are three people booked into every bed.

### Water 'flood'

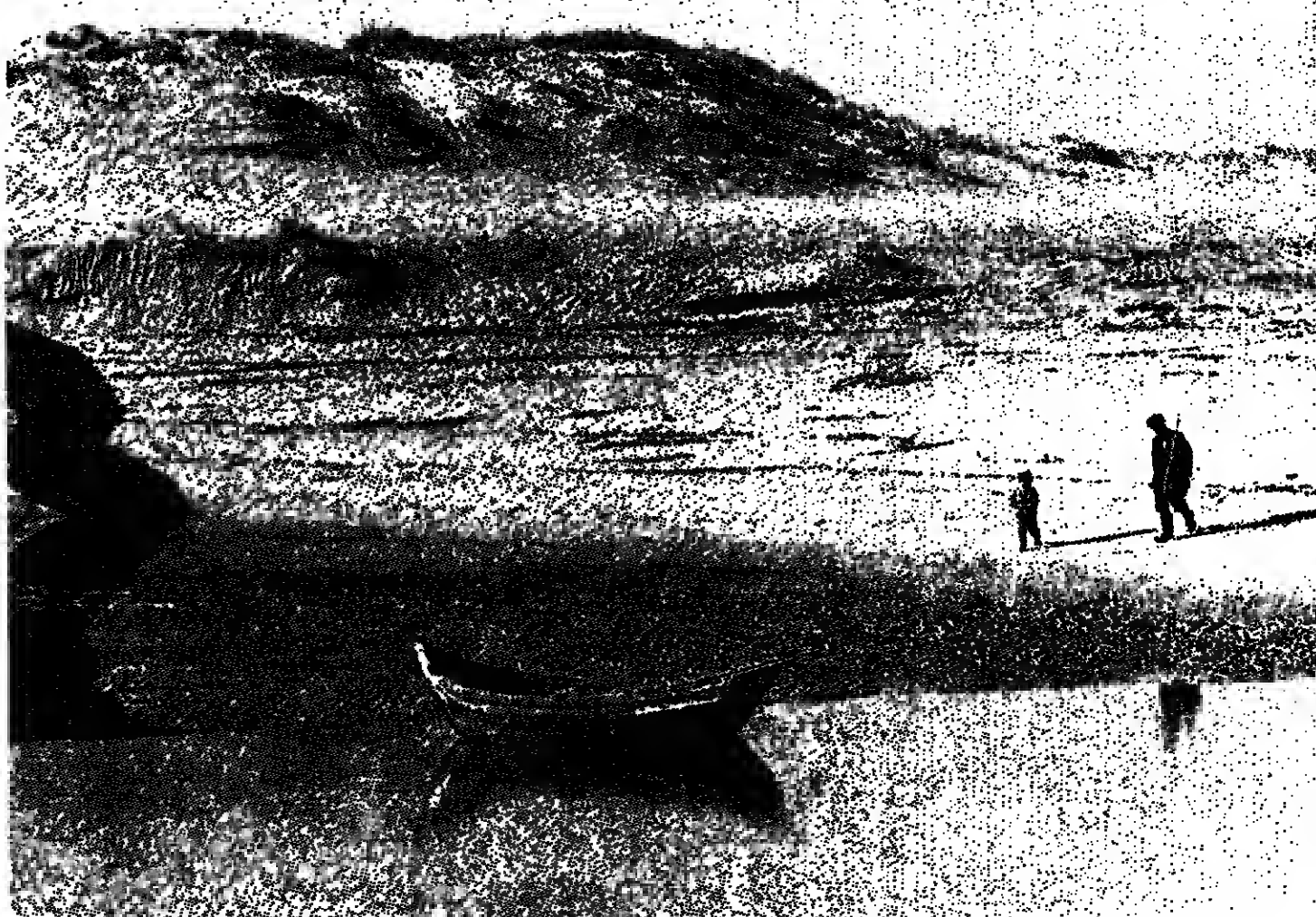
A grim warning of what this sort of situation could entail was the Easter holiday weekend, when some 150,000 Spaniards suddenly flooded across the border. They jammed the slow-moving Portuguese customs points forming long queues, then tried to find hotel rooms. Many Spaniards slept in their cars.

Reformations followed hard and fast over a Portuguese habit of closing up tightly all roads and on any holiday so that even an escape is a rarity. The Portuguese pointed out to one another that the disgruntled Spaniards went back with thousands of unspent marks in their pockets, and generally decided that it was more of a fiasco than a fiesta.

Government officials shook off the gloom. They are confident in the ability of Portugal, with its recent 17 percent devaluation of the escudo combined with its restored political stability, to again attract its old clientele and to keep it happy. They point out that rates still will find Portugal one of the best places in Europe to sample the sun.

### Living-room lane

Government officials thus recently have urged the Portuguese, "Keep away from the scene and avoid the month of August for holidays this year." They then appealed to seaside townspeople to open up their ex-



Nazare, Portugal

By Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

Fishermen still have some beaches to themselves

tra rooms to Portuguese holidaymakers for a target of another 100,000 beds.

The appeals fall on somewhat unresponsive Portuguese ears. Restricted to taking an annual 1,000 escudos (\$25) in local currency and \$180 in foreign currency out of the country — including foreign hotel costs even when a vacation is booked and paid for in Portugal — the Portuguese have been virtually confined to stay-at-home vacations.

"We can't go abroad and now we can't go to the Algarve," said one Lisbon secretary bil-

terly. "I suppose the government will next advise us how to sunbathe while sitting at our living-room window."

Government officials, however, are too happy forecasting the possible revenues from this year's tourist receipts to take any notice of their glum nationals.

They say this year's tourism, which before the revolution totted up the second biggest foreign currency earnings after emigrants' remittances, could prove equivalent to Portugal's pre-coup golden year of 1973. Then approx-

imately 4 million vacationers spent some \$500 million in Portugal.

A visit to the southern Algarve reflects the new-found optimism. Construction, at a virtual standstill for almost three years, has resumed. Once again, you can hear everything from Finnish to French and German in the beautiful white-washed fishing resorts that border the 100 miles of golden beaches. And even the red hammer-and-sickles that liberally splattered the stone walls are fading — and are not being replaced.

## Eat-all-you-want policy pays off

By Ann Ryan  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Foreign tourists are flocking to Britain for cheap holidays. And a chain of restaurants that is impressing them for its hearty British fare and the value it offers is The Carvery.

There are five in London, all of them situated in hotels belonging to the Strand group, with the oldest established in the Regent Palace Hotel, where it was inaugurated 15 years ago. In every Carvery there is a fixed price of £2.95 (about \$5) per person (including value-added tax), for which the customer can choose a first course, a main course, dessert, and coffee.

The big attraction, though, is that the main course is as much as you can eat from a selection of hot or cold roast joints, carved by yourself,

and accompanied by hot vegetables or salad, plus all the trimmings.

On arrival in The Carvery, customers are seated at their tables and served by waiters with a first course of their choice "to get them settled," according to manager Bryn Griffiths. Then they help themselves from the buffet, carving as much as they wish from either cold joints of pork, lamb, and beef, or the hot joints of pork, lamb, and three of beef, one rare, one medium, and one well done. "The secret of carving is a good sharp knife, not too much pressure, and cutting toward the bone," says Mr. Griffiths. There is a chef on hand to help if necessary.

Customers may help themselves as many times as they like for no extra charge, and most, according to Mr. Griffiths, enjoy carving for themselves.

The Carvery format has spread within the Strand Hotels group to cities outside

London. Now Caveries can be found in Glasgow, Nottingham, and Birmingham, and the ninth in the chain, called Le Carvery, has just opened in Paris in the Hotel Comodore on the Boulevard Haussmann.

"Having tried the restaurant in Paris, French visitors are flocking to its British counterparts. 'We get an enormous number of French parties,' says Mr. Griffiths, 'and only last week I heard three French customers in the restaurant commenting that they had eaten in Le Carvery in Paris.'"

Americans, too, appreciate the typically British fare. "They are great meat eaters and they enjoy carving the equivalent of a large steak about an inch thick off a joint of beef," says Mr. Griffiths. "The other day I had a party from Berkeley, California, who said they had heard back in Berkeley that The Carvery was the place to eat in London."

One of The Carvery's most enthusiastic supporters, however, was from the Soviet Union. "In the Tower Hotel's Carvery restaurant," Mr. Griffiths says, "a Russian weight lifter, on being told that he could eat as much as he liked, helped himself to an entire leg of lamb and polished it off."

The carve-for-yourself-and-eat-as-much-as-you-like idea has spread to other catering organizations, and in London's Piccadilly Hotel, just a few yards from the Regent Palace, The Carving Table restaurant opened last May. There the charge per person and the food provided are practically identical to The Carvery's. Success of the format can be judged by the fact that it is always necessary to make a table reservation in the evenings as the restaurant, which seats 110, is full by 8 p.m., half an hour after its opening time, and remains packed until at least 9 p.m.

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## arts

## Prince Rainier: a royal view of television

By Arthur Unger  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Monte Carlo, Monaco  
"When I get down from the office, I watch television quite a bit for relaxation," says the graying, plumpish man in the black pinstriped suit and Gucci loafers. The office, for His Serene Highness Prince Rainier III of Monaco, is a luxurious, silk-paneled suite in one of the towers of a medieval palace hovering high over the Monte Carlo Harbor in the principality of Monaco.

In the private quarters of the royal family, he often watches French, Italian, or Monte Carlo TV with his family — the Princesses Carolina and Stephanie (age 20 and 12, respectively); Prince Albert (age 19); and Her Serene Highness Princess Grace (formerly Grace Kelly of Philadelphia and Hollywood).

We were discussing television because I was in Monaco serving as president of the International Critics Jury for the 17th International Television Festival of Monte Carlo.

Long before I left New York, I had requested an interview with Prince Rainier, who founded the festival in 1968 with the objective "that television should, through information and entertainment, help to bring everyone together regardless of race or creed." In addition, the Prince is reputed to be dedicated to a decrease in violence in the media and the preservation of the environment, and to the fight against pollution.

## Sample questions submitted

Upon my arrival at the festival, I am informed that the Prince is aware of my request and is considering it. To help him make a decision, I am asked to submit some sample questions so that he can determine the type of interview it would be. I agree.

Finally, on the morning of the fourth day of the 11-day festival, the coordinator (who also functions as a kind of press and social secretary to the Princess and Prince) tips me into the screening room and whispers into one of my ears (not covered at that moment by the headphones which feed a simultaneous translation of foreign shows) that the Prince will see me that afternoon.

On the way, my car climbs the highway from my hotel on the yacht harbor to the rocky promontory on which rests the old town, the fortress, and the Prince's palace. I am met at the gate by uniformed guards, who place me in a gatehouse while they telephone ahead that I have arrived. In a few minutes, a uniformed and benedictine retainer arrives and motions for me to follow him through a courtyard into a tiny elevator, which takes me up a few floors to another anteroom. There he motions for me to wait again.

Finally, I am ushered to a large wooden door and into the presence of the pinstriped Prince, who greets me cordially and proceeds to query me about my impressions of the festival, Monte Carlo, and world television. The Prince indicates he believes TV hasn't been able to stem the growing pollution threat.

## A lot of talk . . .

"We see academic films like the Polish entry on Baltic Sea pollution [which later won the Golden Nymph Grand Prize], but there is a lot of talk and very little action. The Mediterranean, for instance, is in a



Prince Rainier, Princess Grace, Caroline, Albert, and Stephanie

dramatic situation, but the financial interests behind the industries that pollute the sea are difficult to fight. The equipment to purify wastes could be regulated so they would be nonprofit . . . and thus keep prices from going out of line."

The Prince feels that all over the world people are watching too much television. "It cuts down on family life," he says. "After supper the family used to gather in the drawing room and talk. I think this is finished now. Everybody goes to his own sat. Here we get three French channels, two Italian ones, and one local channel, and it has disturbed the whole family nucleus."

The Prince talks about the American cop shows that are seen in France: Mannix, Kojak, Colombo. He is very familiar with them, pleased that the series portray the policemen as imperfect authoritarian figures, who somehow wind up doing the right thing. "I can remember my children saying, 'Let's hurry up dinner because Kojak is on.'"

How many sets are there in the Prince's

luxury purchases and on the gambling casino.

Both the Prince and Princess are really quite monarchial in their relationship with the approximately 25,000 residents of Monaco, of whom perhaps 5,000 are citizens. Both of them believe that the recent appearance on French TV by President Giscard d'Estaing, in which he answered questions from 60 typical French citizens (very much like U.S. President Carter's more recent telephone-radio broadcasts), constituted bad judgment.

"I don't think you should see the president of any republic—France or America—on television too much because they'll end up as just another series."

The Prince feels that President Carter's fireside chats are a mistake. "When the President speaks to the people it should be because he has something important to say. Too many appearances demystify the position too much, he argues.

## I'm sorry, I'm busy

"I think it would be a shame and a disgrace for blue jeans to become the normal White House way of dressing. It's bad if there's too much contact. I don't believe in these palsy-walsy talks and appearances. I think everybody likes to think of their leader as being on a pedestal. Bringing him off that pedestal is doing harm to the position. Look at the Eastern European countries — you don't see much of the men at the top.

"Being democratic doesn't mean being available to everybody at every moment of the day. I get annoyed when people ask to see me and say they will be available at 4 p.m. today. They wouldn't say that to their hairdresser. It's just rude. I tell them I'm sorry, I'm busy, and I am. I don't just sit here and wait for people to knock at my door.

"If a person wants to see a leader and is told it will only be possible a couple of weeks from now, it gives him more pleasure than if he is told sure, come in now and have a Coca-Cola. They've got to look up to leaders — not be on the same level. They look down very quickly when you are on the same level."

I was very glad that I had asked to interview the Prince long before I arrived.

There are three knocks at the door, and the benedictine retainer delivers a note. The Prince seems to be too polite to tell me that the audience is over. So I take the opportunity to thank him for giving me so much of his time — two hours have gone by, and the lights on the yacht in the harbor below are beginning to go on.

## Glimpse of flickering light

Back in my room, I open the large glass doors and wander out on the terrace.

I can see the tower where we chatted only a few minutes before. In one of the rooms which has been pointed out to me as part of the family living quarters, I notice that there is a flickering light.

I dress for dinner and enter the beautiful belle epoch dining room of the Hotel with another member of my jury. The room is filled with friendly people having a jolly time, familiarly at ease with one another. I wonder: Is the Prince up there in his room, watching the "Kojak" all alone?

palace? He thinks for a moment, counting silently. "Not too many — five or six, I think. My youngest watches quite a bit, and Caroline is in Paris in school most of the time. My son doesn't watch unless there's a football match. I like sports events — in fact I got up at 4 a.m. to see the Cassius Clay (Muhammad Ali) fight, which came via satellite. The Princess doesn't watch much television — except for live shows now and then."

## Monarchy reigns

This little principality is a sovereign and independent state approximately 450 square miles in area, founded, according to official information, on "the principle of hereditary and constitutional monarchy." The absence of personal income taxes attracts many wealthy residents, and tourism is the main industry. There are, however, high taxes on

## education

## Play: the important work of babyhood

## How to choose toys for the very young

By Kent Garland Burt  
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

A toy pleases a baby when its characteristics exactly match the baby's own emerging interests and abilities. Priscilla was five weeks old when I went to visit her. As I sat her, her eyes roamed all around the room, not fixing on anything, not appearing to see any one thing. Her arms and legs moved restlessly.

Now I knew that a new baby is most apt to notice objects that provide strong dark and light contrasts, that he or she pictures faces to other patterns, and sees objects best when they are positioned 6 to 12 inches away. So, before visiting my friend's tiny daughter, I had cut an oval the size of a butter plate out of white poster board and had drawn on it with a black felt marker a bold sketch of a face. The eyes were very prominent. I taped a piece of string to the back.

When I placed Priscilla in her cradle I tied the face picture to the slats near the sheet. When her eyes moved in the direction of the face they came to rest. Her glance riveted on that spot six inches away. Her jerking limbs became still. She stared at the face about three minutes. — "the longest she's ever stared at anything," her mother commented in amazement. Her eyes swung away but returned in a moment to stare again on the drawing.

## A perfect match

The toy evidently matched Priscilla's stage of development. It gave her a reason to exercise one of her developing skills, that of looking.



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From three to nine weeks a baby is only in the business of looking when not nursing or sleeping. And the baby is looking to the right 85 percent of the time when lying on the back due to the tonic neck reflex. Therefore mobiles should not be hung directly overhead but to the side, and the figures should dangle about 12 inches from the eyes.

Since the baby is looking at the bottoms of the figures their undersides should be broad and colorful. Many commercial mobiles have objects with attractive profiles, making them interesting only from the adult's point of view. The bottoms are narrow and undecorated. A parent could draw several faces, emphasizing the eyes and, after taping string to the reverse side of the pictures, tie them to a support on the right side of the bed.

A stimulating crib environment is one that changes as a baby's abilities advance. After two months of age a baby is not content to explore a toy just visually. The baby wants to get its hands involved. This desire results first in a batting motion, then a fingering of surfaces, and finally a sophisticated reach and grasp.

## Movement comes next

During the batting stage a baby will appreciate objects that swing and rattle when struck. The sound and movement are a reward for the baby's efforts. More and more the baby will enjoy being the cause of an effect. Objects attached to an elasticized string jiggle satisfyingly. The string can be stretched across carriage or car bed.

At three months, when a baby starts fingering his clothes and sheets, you can suspend swatches of cloth of varying textures above the hands (six to eight inches from the eyes). The point is to encourage tactile curiosity, offering contrasting surfaces — such as silky, nubby, limp, and stiff — to examine. An enriched crib environment widens a baby's horizon and keeps boredom away.

As soon as a baby begins to interact manually with toys they must be securely attached to a support device which is also firmly fastened to the crib, playpen, or some piece of furniture



By Kent Burt

## Bold pictures appeal to the very young

near the infant's seat. Anything that really captures a baby's fancy will be persistently tugged at.

You might buy a commercial mobile for its well-constructed support arm. Then you could remove its creatures and rig up "recreables" of your own choosing — a household utensil, a bell, a rattle, a soft animal or doll.

As your baby learns during its fourth or fifth month to reach for a toy and coordinate this reach with a grasping action, you should no longer have objects dangling on strings. They will swing out of reach when touched, thus disappointing the small reacher.

Instead, take a hanger and bend the bottom wire so that the center of it comes close to the hook. You now have two rigid extensions. You can tie or tape interestingly contoured objects to the ends of these. Then fasten the hook of the hanger in a stationary position to whatever support arm you are using. When your baby reaches out to manipulate the object, it will stay in the place he reaches toward.

For the first six months a baby's world is the environment within two to three feet of the eyes. Parents can make their baby's life more interesting by providing interior decoration for crib and playpen geared precisely to developing early interests and skills.

First of three articles. Next, exploring toys for babies 7-14 months old.

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## Monitor photography contest rules

In case you missed the May 2nd announcement of the Monitor's photography contest, here are the rules once again:

Black and white prints can be of any subject, taken anytime and anywhere in the world. The theme will be "The World We Live In." Our deadline for receiving them is Sept. 15, 1977, for possible publication in the autumn. Judging will be done by the Monitor photography staff. Prints must be no larger than 8 by 10 inches for easy handling and shipping. On the back of each photograph print your name and address, and where and when the picture was taken. If you have a good idea, include that too.

We expect a large quantity of photographs and are ready to select a number of first, second, and third-prize winners — paying \$150, \$75, and \$50, respectively, for publication rights.

Please do color slides, unless you have converted them into black and white prints. No more than six prints will be accepted from each photographer. Material can be returned only if a self-addressed envelope and correct postage are included. Some may be held for publishing at a later date. Mail all entries to: Photo Contest, The Christian Science Monitor, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02116, U.S.A.

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# OPINION AND...

## It's tax, not pay, that bothers Britons

By Francis Renny

London  
Britain's workers and managers aren't lazy — they're just resentful at being robbed, and robbed by government. Or at least that's one way of looking at the current malaise. And it's a point of view encouraged by recent inquiries and research.

A survey carried out by the management advisory firm Anthony Gibbs, involving more than 500 managers in 17 major companies, shows widespread defeatism at the top of industry. The managers know they could push up profits by an average of 10 percent if they tried, but why should they? With taxes the way they are, promotion isn't worth it unless you're still low down the ladder. So, says the survey, managers have stopped making the effort.

Even the prospect of salaries up to £20,000 a year doesn't stir them any more. After the tax man has been and gone, the extra that's left isn't worth the strain and stress.

The managers don't blame pay-restraint nearly as much as tax policy. Even inflation isn't high on their checklist compared with fiscal confiscation. Most of the managers know they are poorer than they were five years ago, and yet — with their pounds worth less — they are paying more tax. The top men who collect a theoretical £18,000 end upward per year reckon their real earnings are down by a quarter.

ter. The supposed "relief" in this year's spring budget just make them laugh.

John Anderson, a West of England railway worker, summed up the despair of many working Britons when he said "It's the plain unfairness that gets me down. They can put up prices just how they like; but we can't put up our wages!"

Try to explain to him about the government's price-check machinery and he shows you the containers for two typewriter ribbons, bought for his student daughter yesterday and a year ago. A year ago the ribbon cost 38 pence. Yesterday the same ribbon was 66 pence. "And next month the shop says it will be 72 pence."

As far as most people can see, wages get a little nibble once a year — prices take a bite almost every month. There may be learned explanations why this must be so, but to John Anderson and his mates it all adds up to this: you can't trust the politicians' promises — the ordinary bloke isn't getting a fair deal.

One sign of the times: John won't be going to Spain on a packaged holiday this year. And he won't be going to the English seaside either; he'll be staying at home and playing host to his brother and sister-in-law from London — who can't afford a paying holiday either. The

big four operators say their bookings are down almost a third this year. The beaches of Majorca and the Costa Brava will be more spacious by the width of up to a million lobster-colored British bodies.

The desperate search for economic sunshine continues, but you won't find it by looking back. Since Queen Elizabeth II came to the throne 26 years ago, the pound note that bears her portrait has shrivelled by three-quarters: it is now worth 25 pence — or rather (to bring tears to the eyes) five shillings.

The decline of Britain's economy actually began long before 1952, and the exhaustion of two world wars has a lot to do with it: the British made the great mistake of being on the winning side in both, and fighting both from beginning to end.

A review by Lloyds Bank dredges up the grim tidings that since the last coronation, shopping prices have gone up fivefold. And the price of homes has multiplied by six.

A nation of beggars? Not a bit of it! Britain has not done as well as her competitors — that's the real trouble — but she has chalked up an average 2.4 percent increase in production under Elizabeth II, and over the whole 26 years her standard of living has almost doubled.

Somehow or other the beleaguered British have managed to make some headway. Twenty years ago only one person in 66 had a television set, and one in 20 a car. Now one in three can share, and one in four steer. And astonishing to relate, people are managing to save far more than they used to: the building societies and insurance companies have rocketed up.

Mind you, in 1951 unemployment was nearer a quarter of a million than one-and-a-half million. And Britain's coal production was twice what it is now.

Silver Unings to those clouds? Just a little can be managed: the unemployed we have and a lot more mercifully cared for than ever in the past, and the man who dig the coal now enjoys the highest standard of living their generous calling has ever yielded. Yet they are beginning to feel the unfairness that separates the elite: for the better pay the workers get, the more they move into tax brackets once meant to milk the middle classes.

Increasingly, skilled workers are taking their discontent to the well-controlled murmurs of the professional and business types. It's all very well talking about "dividing up the economic cake" — but where's the incentive now to bake that cake at all?

Joseph C. Harsch

The most interesting thing about the second round of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe which opened this last week in Belgrade is that both the American and Soviet delegations have done their homework more carefully than they did for the first round a year ago in Helsinki.

The American delegation has been beaver-ing away for months now, gathering material on violations by Soviets and East European governments in the form of Soviet restraint in the Middle East. But "Basket Three," the section of the "final act" of the conference which dealt with human rights, was to Dr. Kissinger in those days a "basket case."

Well — here we are two years later and Basket Three is anything but a basket case. It has caused all kinds of trouble inside the frontiers of the Warsaw Pact. Czechs, Romanians, even the Poles, have been hustling into jails people who have been keeping the books on the violations by their governments of the promises of oil of them made at Helsinki to permit a free flow of information across their borders, and permit freedom of political expression by their people. Arrests have been frequent in Moscow and more are expected. A general suppression of dissent seems to be the order of the day.

There is always a reaction to waves of suppression. Internal dissent can be smothered for a time. But every wave of suppression inside Eastern Europe, and even inside the Union

of Soviet Socialist Republics itself.

To the American delegation run by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger the promises in the area of "human rights" were window dressing. Dr. Kissinger was willing to confirm the frontiers of Eastern Europe as a step along the road of his "détente" with Moscow. He expected his quid pro quo in other areas — perhaps in the form of Soviet restraint in the Middle East. But "Basket Three," the section of the "final act" of the conference which dealt with human rights, was to Dr. Kissinger in those days a "basket case."

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the Soviet Union damages every communist party outside the Warsaw Pact area and Moscow's propaganda position in the world. The price of suppressing dissent inside is a bad image outside. This is a dilemma into which Moscow has been pushed by Basket Three.

More than that. A bad record of violating the human rights provisions of the Helsinki document inevitably revives the question of those frontiers. If Moscow is to repudiate part of the Helsinki accord then the whole could come unstuck. And any reopening of the frontiers of Eastern Europe would be a sheer horror to the Kremlin.

Perhaps some people inside the Kremlin begin to wonder whether Joseph Stalin was wise to grab all that territory around his frontiers which he did grab in 1945. It was a moment when Soviet armies were spread far beyond the prewar frontiers of the Soviet Union. Mr. Stalin helped himself to various Japanese islands and a huge piece of China on one side. He gathered in the Baltic states, East Prussia, and a slice of Poland, and a slice of Finland, and a slice of Romania, and a small bit of Czechoslovakia on the other. And no one forgives those things.

Moscow has already had to disgorge one big

piece of those 1945 gatherings of Stalin. The Chinese insisted that the Soviets get out of Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, and Sinkiang. They did, within two years after Stalin's death. But they have never yet given up another inch of their spoils of war from 1945. And they seemed at Helsinki two years ago to think that the documents signed there would put to rest any doubts about the European frontiers.

But did they? Why should the frontiers be fixed forever if Moscow fails to pay the price agreed for the validity of those frontiers?

Nothing is going to be settled at Belgrade now. The diplomats are gathered there only to set up schedules and formulas and rules and regulations for round three of Helsinki to come somewhere else later this year. But behind the talks in Belgrade is the plain fact that Moscow is finding it painful to pay the price agreed at Helsinki for general recognition of Stalin's frontiers. Yet how can those frontiers be firm if the price for them is not paid? Yet to pay the price would be to permit dissent throughout all the Kremlin's lands. And to permit dissent could lead to — anything.

After all, there was first only the Grand Duchy of Moscow. At the time of Columbus it was only about three hundred miles across.

## Britain's jubilee: why the people cheered

By Francis Renny

London  
Elizabeth's Silver Jubilee has proved triumph — for herself and for the monarchy. It was a day when they would yawn at it if they cheered themselves hoarse.

Why so means all over yet. Down in Cornwall county authorities are already making arrangements so that when the Queen comes to August, there'll be Cornish people in white robes — not just holiday-makers.

As far as London is concerned, we've had the high spots: the Service of Thanksgiving at St. Paul's, the state procession, the fireworks, the royal family on Buckingham Palace balcony. And not only did it go well, in spite of the weather: it suddenly and unexpectedly kindled the imagination and enthusiasm of people who feared they'd forgotten how to cheer.

And the only four notes were a tired anti-communist number of the socialist *New Statesman*, and a surprisingly elaborate denunciation of the party by the communist *Morning Star*, which tried to pride itself on ignoring royalty.

As it all whipped up by loyal radio-telephone networks? Hardly. Cameras can't invent enthusiasm, and it isn't the broadsheet organizations that actually produce the

services and processions. Some of the commentators had gut edges round their purple passages; but the pictures showed they were doing no less than justice to what was going on.

Is there anything on wheels quite as breathtaking as the four-and-a-half-ton state coach, with its molten gold and its trumpeting tritons? Anything more quintessentially ceremonial than the procession of knights and heralds and mitred bishops swaying up the aisle? At which point, a television camera pointing vertically down from the lantern of St. Paul's dome zoomed out to reveal the abut of the century: the congregation as a scintillating mosaic in which was set the red St. George's cross of the cathedral aisles.

Undemocratic, feudal, extravagant, irrelevant rubbish cry the revolutionaries. And in certain ways they're right. The monarchy has nothing to do with the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and most of the crowds who were voting with their cheers seemed to be saying thank goodness for that!

One might venture the remark that an important reason for the Queen's popularity is that nobody can blame her for the current state of affairs. Compared with politicians, trade unionists, media men, civil servants and

what-have-you-else, she is perhaps the one really blameless person in sight. The fact that she's lightly paid for the job seems pointless. Does anyone think it's fun being Queen? That she whoops it up on oysters and champagne every night — or that if she did she'd be able to carry out her duties?

For someone who has no choice, who cannot do anything else, the wonder is what keeps her going at all — what's the job satisfaction, other than an unfashionable sense of duty, and just occasionally the realization that it's appreciated — that she is loved?

A reporter must, however, record that a fair number of her citizens do wonder if it's a wise thing to finance the entire supporting cast of the royal family on so lavish a scale. The apart, people seemed pleased with the value they were getting for surprisingly little money. The Queen had asked for an economical jubilee and she got it.

And yet, thanks to the built-in pageantry of the monarchy, one was not aware of any penny-pinching. The trumpets in the dome, the abstract splendours of the fireworks in the skies, were no cut-price glories. If one must drag politics into the occasion, one doubts if a candidate, with republican sympathies would have much chance at a parliamentary election if one were held in the next few months.

London has been stuffed — is increasingly stuffed — with foreign tourists, and no doubt they helped the enthusiasm along. But after watching the Thanksgiving Service on television, this reporter drove out into the English countryside for a picnic. Driving through northern London, there were street parties all the way. There was a damp but enthusiastic procession going on in the Oxfordshire village of Chinnor; more street parties in Hemel Hempstead; another parade in Dunstable.

If anything, the sense of community pride and celebration was stronger outside the capital; more flags, more decorations, more events.

It's not going to solve Britain's problems, this royal jubilee. It's not going to cure inflation or make everyone accept a Phase Three pay restraint deal. But it does tell us something important about the British that gets overlooked in the daily grind: though they've a reputation for being fine writers and talkers, most British aren't — they are fairly inarticulate. It takes something like a jubilee to draw out the real feelings of the people and they turn out to be more old-fashioned, warm-hearted, and in the best sense patriotic than many a trendy commentator has assumed.

So now we all wait for Prince Charles to get married. . . .

## White House School of Journalism

Melvin Maddocks

One by one they've appeared — immigrants slipping across the border into an already overpopulated country. First a trickle, now, alas, a deluge. We're referring, of course, to the veritable flooding of journalism by the children of former Presidents.

In the beginning there was Lynde Johnson Robb, followed by Julie Nixon Eisenhower, infiltrating the editorial corridors of women's magazines. Then, when law school got sort of boring, David Eisenhower began to gnaw impatiently on his No. 2 pencil and scribble for publications in Washington and New York on his yellow legal pad, writing about both politics and baseball.

At first — we admit it — our feeling was panic. The instinct of self-preservation. We Old Families who came over to journalism on the Mayflower, so to speak, have absolutely no prejudice against Johnnies-come-lately, you understand. Bring us your poor and hungry, we've always said — the poorer the better. But these young wordsmiths, born with gold felt-tips in their mouths! How could we who Came Up the Hard Way — we who had never sharpened a pencil in the Oval Office compete against them?

We'd just begun to calm down when the news came out that Susan Ford and Caroline Kennedy — not to mention Margaret Trudeau — would give their telescopic lenses to be photjournalists. And now Jack Ford, it seems, is becoming editor of a new magazine described as an outdoorsman's Rolling Stone.

More panic! But this time not for ourselves. How, we asked in all pure altruism, could working stiff like Henry Kissinger and John Lindsay hold their jobs as television journalists if this kind of thing keeps up? Would William Randolph Hearst even find the position he had promised Patly after all the other VIPs' daughters had been taken care of?

One morning we heard ourselves say (actually say out loud): "Why couldn't they be singers, like Margaret Truman?" The question was so petulant, so unjust that it broke the spell. Suddenly we saw the situation from the other side. Here was just a bunch of really nice kids being thrown in over their heads. What the innocents needed — and needed in a hurry — was a crash course in journalism.

We haven't quite finished our manual — "Helpful Hints for Those Who Graduate into Journalism From the White House" — but we've called upon all our experience, plus the experience of the best writers and editors we know, and here is a sampling of how it's coming out:

- Use short sentences. Short sentences are forceful. Short sentences are clear. All short sentences got rhythm. Yeah!

- Use long sentences. Long sentences compel a writer to be forceful and clear. On the other hand, the writer of short sentences gets lazy. He thinks he has to do just one thing: Write short sentences. One good long sentence is a lot clearer than two confusing short sentences. Besides, all long sentences got rhythm. Yeah!

- When there's a choice, always choose the simpler, the Anglo-Saxon word.

- Always choose the more exact word, the *mot juste*. Don't worry if it's long or Latin.

- Never use foreign phrases, like *mot juste*.

- Never use adjectives.

- Never use adverbs.

- Never use passive verbs.

- Use nouns very sparingly.

After one presidential child — we won't say which — read a few of these tried and true maxims, well known to every journalist, he/she accused us of sabotage and willful obfuscation. We passed on sabotage but advised him/her to substitute "confusion" for "obfuscation" if he/she didn't want to lose his/her readers. Then we explained that, after all, journalism isn't a simple business like politics, where all you have to do is smile a lot and promise you'll never raise taxes — and a dangling participle won't ever cost you a vote. We just hope he/she got the point. For his/her own good, of course.

## Singapore: a tight little island

By John M. Taylor

My taxi driver could smile about it now, but it had not seemed funny at the time. He had just turned in his cab, and was waiting for the bus that would take him home. He finished his cigarette, and flipped the butt toward a storm drain.

Immediately, two men in the bus queue turned on him reproachfully. A third looked up the street for a policeman. In panic, my driver picked up the offending butt and stuffed it in his shirt pocket. Fortunately for him, the bus arrived before any cop. The fine for littering in Singapore is the equivalent of \$200, and while first offenders generally get off for a lesser amount, anti-littering laws are rigidly enforced. As a result, crowded Singapore is today one of the cleanest cities in the world.

Once upon a time, Singapore's interest lay in its reputation as the sin city of Southeast Asia. Today it is interesting in a totally different way — as an example of perhaps the most regimented society outside the Soviet bloc. Even Singaporeans wonder if Big Brother is not also a bit of a bully.

Not that Singapore is a dictatorship, for it operates as an English-style parliamentary democracy. But the booming prosperity of this

predominantly Chinese island has contributed to a virtual collapse of political opposition to the ruling People's Action Party of Premier Lee Kuan Yew. The PAP now controls every seat in Parliament, and as a result can do just about as it pleases.

From his secure political base Lee has sought to reshape the character and habits of the Lion City and its 2.4 million inhabitants. His priorities have not necessarily been those of Thomas Jefferson. Employing legislation still on the books from the Malayan counter-insurgency days of the 1950s, for instance, Lee continues to jail hard-core leftists without trial.

Security is one of Lee's top concerns; population pressure is another. Confronted in the 1960s with a population growth rate which threatened to overwhelm its 225 square miles, Singapore began a family planning campaign aimed at curbing the tradition of large families. The government's public housing program was in effect integrated with its family planning program, with housing disbursements for large families. In terms of eligibility for housing, the larger the family the lower the housing priority.

Lee does not smoke, and in Singapore smoking is prohibited in government offices and many public places. Violation of no smoking ordinances can bring down the same \$200 fine as littering. Gambling is illegal except at the race track — a trial to those Singaporean Chinese with a highly developed affinity for games of chance. As for drugs, few countries take the drug threat more seriously than does Singapore. Persons found in possession of more than 15 grams of hard drugs are automatically classified as dealing in drugs, a crime which carries a mandatory death sentence. A number of such sentences are currently being appealed.

Drugs are one thing; a person's personal appearance is his own business, right? Not in Singapore. Male visitors are encouraged to visit a barber if their hair is past the shirt collar, while tourists brochures warn that "long-haired persons will be served last at all government departments and offices." Although the government has not taken an official stand on diet or obesity, Singapore's overweight Don Juanes glance anxiously over their shoulders.

Of course, only one side to the Singa-

pore story. The island state boasts a free press and a well-administered police system. His government has a duty, Lee believes, to provide the best in health and education, in order that anyone prepared to work hard can improve his lot. Singaporean Chinese from the British an honest and efficient civil service. Under Lee it has become a model of corruption-free, a model for Singapore's neighbors.

Is there a certain warmth lacking in Lee Kuan Yew's tight little island? Perhaps not. Lee's policies are said to be rooted in an ancient Chinese proverb: "For many years in the State of Lu we have chosen from among the countries of Southeast Asia, the island of Singapore, to be the center of our empire."

Mr. Taylor is the author of books on Asia and America.

Charles W. Yost

A serious American habit, practiced very much in other countries, is that of appointing a small proportion of its ambassadors, not career service but from a variety of other unrelated walks of life. No one would be so acting in the choice of generals or admirals, of corporation executives, of university professors or of senior partners of law firms but it seems to be supposed in America that a reasonably bright individual can take on a simple task as conducting U.S. relations with a foreign nation.

In his book "Why Not the Best?" President Lyndon B. Johnson wrote: "For many years in the State Department we have chosen from among the applicants about 110 of our nation's finest young leaders to represent us in the international world. We've set this off with the inter-branch and counterproductive policy of appointing unqualified persons to major diplomatic posts of political payoffs. This must be changed immediately." This and similar statements in the campaign naturally raised questions in the minds of those who had been in the State Department. So far, how much has changed? It seems to be very little.

Mr. Taylor is the author of books on Asia and America.

## Still too many amateur ambassadors

True, it now appears that of appointments to 125 embassies (this does not include the United Nations or other international agencies) about 75 percent will be from the active career service, which is 5 to 10 percent more than has usually been the case over the past 15 years. However, this improved percentage rests heavily on the appointment of career officers to 23 out of 25 African posts. In Europe about 30 percent will apparently be political appointees and in Latin America nearly 40 percent.

Everyone agrees that a few political appointments are fully justified. Men like Mike Mansfield in Tokyo and Dick Gardner in Rome are as experienced and highly qualified as any career officers. It is, however, hard to see any justification other than political services for several recent appointments, including some of the most sensitive, such as Saudi Arabia.

There should be three firm criteria for political appointments: diplomatic posts; first, that the appointee be highly qualified, not simply in his or her previous profession but in foreign affairs; second, that these appointments be payoffs for political services rendered; and third, that there be no other way of getting the job done. The "if of our nation's best young leaders" is upon President Carter's

ferred, to continue to enter the diplomatic career if they are consistently excluded from 25 to 30 percent of the top posts. The training and talents of many who do enter will be wasted if their experience is not used at the top.

Part of the problem is that the State Department is more often than not regarded with suspicion by President, Congress, and the public. Roosevelt was inclined to consider his personnel hopelessly reactionary, out of sympathy with his New Deal reforms and his liberal attitude toward foreign affairs. Fifteen years later, the pendulum of opinion having swung to the other extreme, the Department and Foreign Service were believed, in some executive and legislative circles, to be populated with Reds and subversives. Both stereotypes were completely wide of the mark.

In my 35 years in the Foreign Service I never encountered an officer who was disloyal or disoriented to an incumbent president. The tradition and training of these officers is to present their views as candidly and vigorously as the current climate and their position in the hierarchy permits, before a policy decision is made, but to carry out that decision scrupulously and loyally once it is made.

The essential service which career public

officials with long and wide experience can render a president is "to tell it like it is," in a way his own political entourage may not wish or be able to do, to inform him without fear or favor what the real situation is in a particular part of the world and what are the limits of United States capabilities in respect to it. The failure of many presidents adequately to recognize and use the knowledgeable people available to them has often gotten them and the country into serious trouble. The Bay of Pigs and Vietnam are conspicuous examples.

Experience does bring one consolation as one observes, with the arrival of every new administration, an almost clean sweep of the senior positions in the State Department and the appointment of large numbers of amateurs to embassies.

When and surveys the scene three years later, one is likely to find, with mild astonishment, that the career service had replaced many of these positions. The crusaders have grown tired; the political veterans have returned to domestic battlegrounds; and the president and secretary of state have quietly concluded that those trained for the mysterious job of diplomacy may after all know it best.

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